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THE CHRISTIAN EQUIVALENT OF WAR

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THE CHRISTIAN EQUIVALENT OF WAR

BY

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PREFACE

This book is meant to aid the fair-minded student in his study of the problems involved in war. But war will serve only as an illustration—tangible and vivid—of much that lies deeper. By seeking out the elemental factors involved in the use of force, whether they manifest themselves in international, civic, or social relations, or in personal conduct, and by comparing them with the principles of Jesus, we shall ever be discovering new and far-reaching applications of these principles, and thus new demonstrations of their validity and power.

The illuminating article which Professor James wrote a few years ago on "The Moral Equivalent of War" will be recognized as the source of our title, which, it is scarcely necessary to say, is in no way intended to imply that Christianity offers any possible equivalent for what is evil in war. But if there is a moral equivalent for all that is good in war, why may there not be a still more perfect Christian equivalent which will include the moral value in a greater spiritual good? Is there in the teachings and spirit of Jesus any suggestion of an equivalent which will produce in nations and races, as well as in individuals, those virile and forceful qualities of character which war seems often to have brought to fruition?

The underlying thoughts of Jesus have long been fermenting; in these latter days they refuse to be contained within the wine-skins of commonly accepted international

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traditions. New wine-skins must be created if the good wine is not to be lost. The call today is to larger and more conclusive thinking regarding the application of the principles of Jesus to modern international and inter-racial relationships, and in response to this call we now summon ourselves to a united study of present-day problems.

Thanks are due to all who have contributed to the thought of these pages. I wish especially to acknowledge my indebtedness to my associates, Gilbert A. Beaver, Frederick M. Harris, and Harrison S. Elliott, and to my sister, Mrs. H. B. Sharman, for their painstaking criticisms and suggestions.

D. W. L.

New York, N. Y.
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WHAT IS WRONG IN WAR?

CHAPTER I

WHAT IS WRONG IN WAR?

The world is now in a position as never before to appreciate the inexorable destructiveness of war. Shells which can annihilate battalions, machine guns that mow men down by the acre, and engines of assault that can batter a city to pieces at a distance of eight or nine miles, make Napoleon's little cannon, shooting across the narrow valley at Waterloo, seem like mere toys. Property worth millions is crumpled or sunk in less time than it afterwards takes to tell the story, and priceless works of art are ruined by the forward sweep of battle. Nor do the effects end at the front: whole nations are bowed in sorrow and bear an immeasurable load of suffering; even in the remotest parts of the Orient, poverty pinches a little harder because the Occident is fighting.

The justification of destruction

But can the seriousness of these effects be considered in itself a reason for condemning war? We are not in the habit of regarding all killing as murder. The policeman on his beat is expected to shoot the violent criminal who offers complete defiance to the law. If circumstances clearly indicate that in no other way could he reasonably

have hoped to check the criminal in his course and bring him to justice, the policeman, far from being held guilty of crime, is commended for his fearless and faithful discharge of a perilous duty. If a band of desperadoes comes crashing into a city where the police force is inadequate, and private citizens join in the attempt to rout and capture them, no court of justice would hold such intrepid citizens guilty of murder if, in the defense of their homes, they should kill a raider. The right of personal self-defense is likewise upheld by common law, so that a man who enters a private house by force may be shot down like a dog. Since there are circumstances in which the taking of the life of individuals is not considered wrong, we can scarcely escape the question whether there may not sometimes be conditions which will also justify the wholesale slaughter wrought by an army.

To be sure this question has been answered in both ways by men of conscience and intelligence, but the majority of thoughtful people would hesitate to give an unqualified negative. The wasteful destruction of property and the immense weight of human suffering inevitably caused by war can hardly be cited as positive proof that war is always wrong. Property is, after all, mere matter, and men who count it as worthless for the sake of spiritual gain are surely to be ranked above the world's time-servers. Human suffering, too, is essential to progress in the affairs of men, and the world would lose much of its best heritage if enterprises were to be abandoned because of the pain they cause. How far, therefore, can we allow the external effects of war to decide our attitude toward it?

The immoralities of war

Few would deny that many immoralities do follow in the wake of war. Channing unhesitatingly declared war to be "the concentration of all human crimes. . . . Under its standard gather violence, malignity, rage, fraud, perfidy, rapacity, and lust. . . . The field of battle is a theatre, got up at immense cost, for the exhibition of crime on a grand scale."[1] A sober and dispassionate estimate of war has been placed on record by the English historian, Lecky: "War is not, and never can be, a mere passionless discharge of a painful duty. Its essence, and a main condition of its success, is to kindle into fierce exercise among great masses of men the destructive and combative passions—passions as fierce and as malevolent as that with which the hound hunts the fox to its death or the tiger springs upon its prey. Destruction is one of its chief ends. Deception is one of its chief means; and one of the great arts of skilful generalship is to deceive in order to destroy. Whatever other elements may mingle with and dignify war, this at least is never absent; and however reluctantly men may enter into war, however conscientiously they may endeavor to avoid it, they must know that when the scene of carnage has once opened, these things must be not only accepted and condoned, but stimulated, encouraged and applauded."[2] General Sherman is said to have epitomized his experience in these words: "I confess without shame that I am tired and sick of the war. Its glory is all moonshine. . . . War is hell."[3] Whether Sherman had in mind physical or moral evils, it will generally be conceded that war gives

[1] William Ellery Channing, "Discourses on War," p. 81.
[2] W. E. H. Lecky, "The Map of Life," p. 92.
[3] Quoted in "The Passing of War," p. 248.

men license, and stimulates them to commit certain acts which in private life would be punished as criminal, such as: deception, robbery, murder, and rape.

The burden of proof

But the question still remains, Are we willing to condemn war because of the immoralities which grow out of it? The mere presence of these obvious evils is an insecure ground upon which to base our condemnation. While they establish a strong presumption against it, they do not prove that war is wrong; for evil, or the temptation to evil, is to be found in every human activity. In the service of mankind, for example, otherwise beneficent enterprises sometimes become so honeycombed with ambition or jealousy as utterly to miss their mark. Even the exalted practise of prayer, as James has pointed out, will be made futile by a desire for self-indulgence, or, as Jesus has shown, will be utterly degraded by a cherished hatred, which is nothing less than murder.[1]

Moreover, such terrible destruction of life and property, and the opening up of such wide temptations to mean and vicious action, forces us either to look for a justification commensurate with the damage of war, or to seek the elimination of the evils themselves. But can they be eliminated? Some of the evils are so bound up with war as to seem inevitable; to eliminate the others would so radically transform the code and conditions of strife as to render its prosecution next to impossible. Must we not, then, give candid attention to those who maintain that war is only to be undertaken in the very extremity of international difficulties? Dare we be deaf even to those who

[1] Cf. James iv. 3 and Matt. v. 21-24.

feel that not a single reason ever offered for war is adequate to justify the scattering of its evils abroad in the earth? Surely the burden of proof rests with those who would justify war.

A moral purpose

Specific wars of recent years have been defended largely on the ground of their purpose. It is manifest that the moral sense of men today revolts at the thought of a war with a purpose avowedly immoral. No nation that will wage war with reckless disregard of moral objective can long expect to remain in the esteem of the world. History records no modern war in which the moral purpose has not been put in the forefront of every appeal for the cooperation of patriots or the sympathy of neutrals. Sometimes the declared purpose has been to establish a principle, or to overthrow an evil; sometimes to right a wrong, or to defend the helpless: but never has it appeared as a desire to accomplish an unworthy end. Where wrong purposes lurk, they are sedulously kept from sight by plausible logic and shrewd diplomacy; for only when the people are convinced of a worthy purpose will they rise to that degree of courage and devotion essential to the success of any war.

The springs of action

Difficulties multiply for the sensitive conscience. In present-day warfare a moral purpose is claimed by each nation involved. It is exceedingly difficult, even after the lapse of time, to weigh motives justly; and during the disturbance of war, this is quite impossible. Moreover, we no longer allow that the end justifies the means.

Furthermore, the apparent flimsiness of many of the excuses offered for the wars of history is enough to arouse a suspicion of insincerity; and the ultimate outcome even of wars waged in behalf of some high end, shakes our confidence in the ability of men to achieve altruistic ends by the power of the sword.

It begins to appear, therefore, that the answer to the great question of our chapter will not be found in any categorical statement based on apparent effects or avowed objects. The line which divides right and wrong is not so easily visible to the unaided eye. We must go, as Jesus did, to the springs of human action, and in this realm He alone is a trustworthy guide. By the very conditions which He laid down for human progress whether in His Sermon on the Mount or in the principles which controlled His own decisions, He has challenged all men everywhere to test the moral values of life by inward motive. What motives for war must we, therefore, in the light of the teaching and example of Jesus, always and unqualifiedly hold in condemnation?

Selfish ambition

As the disciples approached the period in Jesus' life which they thought would be the beginning of an earthly reign of great glory, they quarreled among themselves as to who should occupy the positions of highest honor and greatest power.[1] Two brothers, more politic though perhaps younger than their associates, instigated their mother to ask Jesus in their behalf for the two places of chief preferment.[2] Jesus, recognizing the motives not only of the two but also of the remaining ten whose jeal-

[1] Luke xxii. 24.

[2] Matt. xx. 20, 21; Cf. Mark x. 35-37.

ousy had been aroused, declared such ambition to be no different from that which leads the rulers of the world into ways of pomp and tyranny.[1] "Not so shall it be among you:" He said, "but whosoever would become great among you shall be your servant; and whosoever would be first among you shall be your bondservant."[2] What plainer proof do we need that the ambitious lust for power is regarded by Jesus as utterly wrong? To the extent, therefore, that war is due to such lust must all Christians unite in condemning it. But here lies the insidious temptation to misjudge the motives of others. It is so easy to suspect rulers and statesmen of selfish ambition, that we need constantly to be on our guard lest we do them injustice. Yet we dare not fail to take an unequivocal stand on the principle for which Jesus Himself firmly stood, that the lust of power is essentially debasing.

Greed

The old law clearly declared it wrong for men not only to disregard the property rights of others, but also to cherish a desire to do so.[3] But it did not show why such acts are sinful. Jesus revealed the social principle on which the law against covetousness and theft was based, when He said: "All things therefore whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do ye also unto them: for this is the law and the prophets."[4] In this age of interdependence the nations of the world are less likely than formerly to pursue a war with such directly selfish motives as would be implied in territorial aggran-

[1] Matt. xx. 24, 25; Cf. Mark x. 42; Luke xxii. 25.
[2] Matt. xx. 26, 27 (Marg. R. V.).
[3] Exodus xx. 15, 17.
[4] Matt. vii. 12.

dizement or the confiscation of property.[1] But as the natures of men have not changed, we must not be surprised to find mingled in the spirit of modern warfare these hurtful and selfish desires, which in the light of Jesus' teaching we can regard only as wrong.

Hatred

The old law said, "Thou shalt not kill."[2] The Jewish tradition added, "Whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of the judgment."[3] And yet both law and tradition justified the avenger in pursuing his enemy to the death.[4] But Jesus made plain that the sin of killing is not determined by the overt act but by the motive lying behind the act. With incisive clearness He said: "Every one who is angry with his brother shall be in danger of the judgment."[5] Hatred, therefore, is the elemental evil. If ever a war is waged without hatred then may it be truly said to be a holy war. But how can a follower of Jesus condone the sin of hatred? Must he not without qualification condemn all those elements in war which grow out of this passion?

Retaliation

The old law, "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth,"[6] was doubtless based on the ethical good of punishment, which in early days was necessarily entrusted more or less to individual initiative. In the time of Christ, however, retribution was no longer a private function. In the hands of an individual, what may once have been

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[1] See Supplementary Note II on "Military Power and National Wealth."
[2] Exodus xx. 13. [3] Matt. v. 21. [4] Deut. xix. 11-13.
[5] Matt. v. 22. [6] Exodus xxi. 24; Lev. xxiv. 19, 20; Deut. xix. 21.

proper retribution, had long since become pure retaliation. The ethics of punishment implies the highest good of the whole community, including that of the one who is punished. Not so with retaliation. It is rooted in selfishness and is therefore contrary to the Golden Rule.

So Jesus unhesitatingly declared: "I say unto you, Resist not him that is evil: but whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also."[1] And Paul interpreting His Master's meaning wrote, "Avenge not yourselves, beloved, but give place unto the wrath of God: for it is written, Vengeance belongeth unto me; I will recompense, saith the Lord. But if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him to drink: for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good."[2] All resistance, therefore, which is purely retaliatory, as, of course, all aggression that partakes of the same nature, is wholly at variance with the spirit of Christ. Wherever we find the spirit of retaliation, whether in war or business, followers of Jesus must hold it in condemnation.

Who will cast the first stone?

These four evil motives, at least, whenever present in war make it evil. But they are by no means confined to the day of battle. Selfish ambition, greed, hatred, and retaliation cannot exist in war unless they have already had lodgment in the hearts of some of the people. Those who would cast stones of condemnation at war must first see to it that they themselves are without sin. No one can consistently pronounce against the evil of war until

[1] Matt. v. 39.
[2] Romans xii. 19-21.

he has personally purged his own heart of those very motives which, when multiplied by the million, make war possible. In so far, then, as there is in anyone ambitious lust for power, inordinate desire for what does not belong to one, uncontrolled hatred, or any spirit of retaliation, in so far is he guilty of the same sins which make war evil.

Those who live in countries at peace need especially to be on their guard lest they take the Pharisaic attitude and thank God that they are not like the people of the other nations at war. Is there no wrong ambition or selfish desire, is there no hateful or retaliatory spirit, in their own national attitude? Have they been wholehearted in their condemnation of the evil passions which come to explosion in time of war? If not, does it not behoove them to take their share in the task of purging out of political and social life all those forces which tend to make men choose place and power rather than service, self-aggrandizement rather than unselfishness, retaliation rather than friendliness, and hatred rather than love?

Supplementary Reading

William Ellery Channing, "Discourses on War."
Walter Walsh, "The Moral Damage of War."

Suggestions for Thought and Discussion on Chapter I

What is the effect of war on the soldier?

In what ways does war develop strength in the soldier? What evil passions does war have the tendency to develop?

What is the moral peril to a young man from the country in going to war compared with that of his going to a large city?

Does war tend to make the morally strong man stronger or weaker?

Taking it all in all, have the soldiers of your acquaintance either in books or real life been made better or worse by war? Why do you think so?

What is the effect of war upon the people of the warring nations?

What is the effect of war on internal crime? How do you account for this?

What feelings does war develop among the people which they would be ashamed to own in times of peace? Under what conditions could a war be waged without producing such feelings?

To what extent was the American war of independence a moral blessing or a moral curse to the Colonists?

When is war wrong?

To what extent is it possible to eliminate from war the evils of suffering and immorality? How far should these lead us to condemn war?

Are there issues which cannot be settled except through war? (See Supplementary Note XIII on "War and National Existence.") When a war is over are the issues settled which caused the war? To what extent is the arbitrament of war accepted as just and final by the combatants?

How far is "my country right or wrong" the cause of war?

What is the relation of women to war?

Why are women generally not expected to go to war? Why is it manly to fight but unwomanly?

Is a just war possible?

What are the four tests of Jesus which can be applied to determine whether a war is justifiable? In the light of these tests, discuss whether recent wars were justifiable.

When is it right to wish your own nation to get ahead of other nations? (See Supplementary Note II on "Military Power and National Wealth"; Note VIII on "War and the Expansion of Trade"; Note IX on "International Trade Not Organized in National Units.")

Are there circumstances under which a war for territory is justifiable?

Can a man be a patriot and yet have no feelings of unfriendliness or contempt or suspicion toward other nations?

To what extent is retaliation for wrongs done to your own nation justifiable? To other nations?

How far is it practicable for the Golden Rule to be applied in the relationships between nations? (See Supplementary Note VII on "William Penn's Experiment.")

To what extent are the relationships of different nationalities in the United States of America a test of the possibility of the application of the Golden Rule to international relations?

WHAT IS THE RIGHT USE OF FORCE?

CHAPTER II

WHAT IS THE RIGHT USE OF FORCE?

Although the evil in war is plainly evident, we need to go further in our enquiry to discover whether after all there may not be an ethical justification for some appeal to force. Force is actually in constant use in our lives. We devote much of it to the conquest of nature for the good of mankind, and in this realm we have a common conviction that so long as it is applied to a worthy end it is right and good. But the use of force against a fellow man is beset with many ethical perplexities. We acknowledge that it is sometimes right that children should be compelled to obey. We also feel confident that there is a proper use of public force against unruly individuals, whose actions are a menace, or merely a vexation to others. But as we approach the larger relationships we seem to lose confidence. We do not all feel equally sure, for instance, how far the state should go in compelling men to abstain from indulging their physical appetites; nor are we quite clear to what extent men in business can be forced to be honest.

Our perplexity increases when we consider international relations. Men shrink from war not merely on account of those horrors that are so revolting to every finer instinct, or because they do not like to see the larger

part of their hard-earned taxes devoted to the support of a system dependent on short-lived battleships and expensive arms soon outclassed. Most men feel that a reasonable justification for a certain degree of war preparation must somehow be discovered. They confess that they would have a sense of insecurity if the army and navy were abolished.

Offense and defense

In looking for such a justification many men find mental relief in the commonly acknowledged right of self-defense. They build their theory of the use of force on two apparently simple propositions: offensive force is always wrong, while defensive force is always right. If only the Gordian knot could thus easily be severed, we should truly be saved a great deal of perplexity. But our problem is too complex, as we may soon realize, to admit of any such short-cut solution. It is true that deep in every heart is the instinct of self-defense. Most of us, too, would gladly suffer personal injury for the sake of protecting the helpless or innocent; and seldom does any violence equal in intensity that of a mother defending her child. And yet, in trying to determine the right use of force by repudiating aggression, while upholding defense, is it altogether easy to distinguish between the two?

In an ordinary fight between two men, for instance, what constitutes aggression? Is it the first blow or is it what was said and done before a single blow was struck? Or, does it lie still further back? Also, what constitutes defense? Is it the act of parrying the actual blow, or may it include the prevention of an anticipated

blow? At what point, then, does the defender become the aggressor? Furthermore, what are the legitimate objects of defense? Granting that a man has a right to defend himself against an attack on his life, how much does that right cover? Does it apply to occasions of imminent and utter peril only, or may it include situations which probably involve only slight personal harm? Then, again, to what extent may one rightly appeal to force in defense of such other objects as his property, his home, his interests, or his honor?

Merely to ask these questions is to show that aggression and defense blend into each other so imperceptibly as to make any ethical distinction between them an unsafe basis for a philosophy of force. Moreover, a quarrel rarely arises between individuals or classes in which each party does not consider itself the victim of aggression. This is especially true of wars; and if each warring nation did not believe itself to be on the defensive, the fighting would soon cease for lack of men willing to fight.

A double standard

If the right of self-defense does not give us an effective key to unlock our perplexities, are we, then, compelled to admit that the ethical standards of the individual are not applicable in the larger social relations? So far as individuals are concerned, we are fairly clear. The man with the strongest arm is no longer permitted to run loose in the land, taking what he can; we believe it right to employ the power of the state to restrain him. In social and commercial relationships are we to regard the issues as more debatable? And in international af-

fairs is the Golden Rule not to be recognized as having a determining value?

Lord Hugh Cecil ably represents an influential party which conscientiously maintains that the action of a state toward other states ought not to be determined on the same basis as the action of an individual toward other individuals. Although he confesses that a double standard of morality places the national leader under a severe temptation to do wrong for the supposedly altruistic purpose of promoting the interests of his country, and acknowledges that "conscience is drugged at the outset, and allows to pass unchallenged much that on enquiry its tribunal would condemn," yet he urges that "everything which falls under the heading of unselfishness is inappropriate to the action of a state." And his reason is that we wrongly personify a state; for it merely represents a large aggregation of persons, and "those who speak in its name and determine its policy act not for themselves but for others. . . . No one has a right to be unselfish with other people's interests. It is the business of every ruler to exact to the utmost every claim which can both justly and wisely be made on behalf of his country. He is in the position of a trustee of the interests of others and must be just and not generous."[1]

The meaning of "unselfishness"

But is it impossible for justice and generosity to go together? What is "unselfishness"? Does it mean merely the giving up of self? If this were all, every hermit buried in a cave, or every fakir reclining on a bed of spikes, would be an incarnation of unselfishness. Such

[1] Lord Hugh Cecil, "Conservatism," pp. 200-202.

acts, however, often accompany a most self-centered spirit. Does unselfishness, then, imply the giving up of self for others? We shall acknowledge this to be nearer the true use of the word; and yet the mother who is slavishly unselfish in the interests of her child, in serving ordinary needs, may wear herself out so completely as to fail to keep pace with the real development of the child. Had she conserved her own strength, and given herself to what might have seemed selfish acts of personal culture, she might have fitted herself for a longer and better service. Are we not forced, then, to a still broader definition? Can a deed be unselfish that does not take into consideration the ultimate good, as well as the immediate pleasure of others? In the fullest sense how can an act be truly unselfish unless it contemplates the good, not merely of those immediately concerned, but of all men who may ever be affected by it?

In such a sense the fundamental moral law, as expressed in the Golden Rule, is surely as binding on nations as on individuals: both are under moral obligations to act for the highest good of all concerned. This does not destroy the motive of self-interest, but purifies it by subordinating such interest to the interests of others.

Then, again, are we ready to follow out the implications of Lord Cecil's declaration that no one has a right to be unselfish with other people's interests? While trustees must decide what are the highest interests of the people they serve, have they a right to serve these interests selfishly? The best thought of the world would justly condemn a ruler who deliberately led the people into a great act of robbery. The citizens of the United

States did not think that the Government was playing the traitor when it gave back to China the unused part of the Boxer Indemnity. When has a truly unselfish national policy ever been given a fair trial without working out to the ultimate good of the nation projecting it? What evidence is there to prove that the application of the Golden Rule to international relations would work disaster?[1]

The underlying principle

If, then, we find it difficult to concede a standard of morality for nations different from that for individuals, and if the age-old instinct of self-defense provides an insecure ground on which to justify such uses of force as seem necessary in society, we are driven to seek a more satisfactory solution of our problem in some other direction. Whither shall we turn?

As will appear more clearly at a later point in the discussion, the very perplexities we are now confronting were consciously faced by Jesus on various occasions in His career. When Jewish opposition had ripened into the crisis of Gethsemane, the leader of the apostolic band quickly drew his sword in defense of His Master. But a quiet word from Jesus sent the sword back into its sheath.[2] That this attitude was no temporary expedient to avoid a conflict when His own resources were limited is shown by the whole tenor of His life. In fact, on this very occasion Jesus felt that He had at His command twelve legions of angels who would immediately have come to His rescue had He

[1] See Supplementary Note VII on "Wm. Penn's Experiment."
[2] Matt. xxvi. 52.

called them.[1] He must, therefore, have been acting from principle. Can we discover any hint as to what it was?

Imbedded in the Mosaic documents, as in a ball of amber, Jesus had found a law which was but a dead statute; no one had yet been able to live up to it, and so men explained away its deepest meaning. But, when Jesus issued it as a "new commandment," and called on men to love one another according to the new standard which He Himself had set, and in the power which He had to give, it became the vital principle for an ultimate social reconstruction. In its old form it read: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."[2] But the new form, as recorded in the Gospel of John, was: "A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another; even as I have loved you, that ye also love one another."[3] Henceforth there could be no more quibbling over the significance of the word "neighbor," for by His matchless example He had enlarged its content to include all men, of all lands, in all ages, and under all conditions. Because of all that He knew to be involved, therefore, Jesus resolutely refused to do anything which would hinder the fulfilment of His law of love for all mankind. No physical compulsion could ever bring the spiritual victory in men's hearts which He would gain.

The functions of force

Translated into the life of today, the law of love which Jesus issued implies the cooperation of all for the highest good of all. This suggests a three-fold analysis of the functions of force in society: (1) That which seeks

[1] Matt. xxvi. 53. [2] Lev. xix. 18. [3] John xiii. 34.

directly to promote mutual cooperation for the common good; (2) That which seeks to destroy, attack, or impede such cooperation; (3) That which seeks to neutralize the destroying, attacking, or impeding force. The second of these functions is plainly at variance with the common good. The first and third should help us determine what is the right use of force.

So long as police power is held strictly to its purpose of ensuring order, it is a promoter of cooperation. The law-breaker refuses to cooperate with society; and, were his kind to increase, cooperation would ultimately become impossible. Thus the good of the whole community requires that he be restrained, and in exercising this function of restraint the policeman is the agent, not of conflict but of cooperation.[1]

In new and frontier communities each man is the maker and defender of his own laws. As soon, however, as the community becomes articulated and a common government is established, the individual no longer finds it profitable or prudent to be his own judge and sheriff. In the interest of effective cooperation he yields to the authority of common government, and so police protection supersedes individual armament. Once this is effected cooperation becomes the organizing principle of the community, and only thus are the rights of individuals adequately protected, and the prosperity and advancement of the community made sure.

The wider application

Thus we face immediately the great question: Can we not apply this same principle among the nations? Not

[1] For a full and graphic discussion see Norman Angell, "The Great Illusion," pp. 263, 264.

to do so means that we refuse to accept the greatest good of all mankind as a purpose of life. For if we are content to seek the interests of our own nation only, these interests will, to some degree at least, conflict with those of other nations, and cooperation will to that degree become impossible. Moreover, unless the nations cooperate, the people of different nations will find it difficult to realize their desires to live for the good of the whole world. If we do not apply this principle of Jesus to international relationships, how can we hope to find any other foundation on which to build a universal system of international ethics? On any narrower basis, when national interests clash, as they inevitably will, where shall we find any standards of justice which will command the moral assent of the conflicting parties?

It is to be recognized that in the gradual erection of a state out of the wilderness, each of the scattered settlers first lives the life of a pioneer. Gradually as cooperation becomes useful or necessary a spirit of mutual sympathy and understanding develops. United effort implies confidence, and also creates it. When interdependence has become the order of the day, there emerges a system of social intercourse which makes possible a truly corporate life. Individual sacrifices are necessary at every step of the way; each man must give up some of his rights, and, harder still, many of his prejudices.

The "frontier" stage

In their relations with one another the nations are as yet in the "frontier" stage. They are not closely enough articulated to make cooperation completely effective. Each one is still a law to itself; and whenever

a dispute becomes sufficiently serious, the resort is to arms. In the new world, as relationships become more complex and intimate, the number of possible points of friction will be greatly multiplied. While the forces working for cooperation have constantly increased[1] the difficulty of maintaining high moral standards is also much greater than ever. Now is the time to apply the principles of cooperation. We may be at the Great Divide of modern history; are we not now determining the direction in which the river of progress is henceforth to flow?

The law of cooperation

Shall not the nations consecrate force to the twin purposes of promoting mutual cooperation for the common good of all the world, and of neutralizing all force that seeks to destroy, attack, or impede such cooperation? The task will not be easy. But it has not been easy to bring civilization out of frontier conditions. Man's progress toward liberty and order has been a hard road to travel; it is dotted with the marks of pain, and sanctified by the blood of heroes. All the faith, patience, and wisdom that men possess have barely enabled us to keep moving on. Struggle and conflict there has always been, and yet we have gone forward. Our governments are cumbersome, our laws are imperfect, and their administration a perennial difficulty; but for all that we are better off than the pioneers. And will the spirit that has accomplished this own itself helpless now?

This law of cooperation requires that each government

[1] See Supplementary Note VIII on "War and the Expansion of Trade."

shall make sure in all it plans to do what is for the good not only of its own people, but also of all other peoples. Everything which breeds suspicion must be avoided. All racial or national prejudice must be resolutely overcome, and mutual confidence cultivated. All existing bonds of fellowship will need to be strengthened, and friendly intercourse must be encouraged. Thus will there develop such a mutual understanding and sincerity of purpose among nations as always exists among friends.

A federation of the world

Nations must, of course, devise some method of protection from injustice and oppression. But so long as the exercise of this function remains under the sovereign control of each separate state there is constant danger of its abuse, both because a party to a quarrel is never qualified to act as an impartial judge on the merits of the case, and also because the very power to defend one's own position by an appeal to force tends to render the conscience less sensitive to the rights of others.

Until the poet's vision of a Parliament of Man and a Federation of the World is realized there may be occasions when nations will feel it a conscientious duty to use the bungling and exhausting methods of war to stay the forces of injustice, or to defend the true and right. That there is a more effective way to stop injustice has been demonstrated in every other organic relationship of life, and even in international relations—the most complex of all—enough experiments have been made[1] to give some confidence that the day will ulti-

[1] See Supplementary Note X on "The Growing Desire for Arbitration."

mately come when all men's good shall be each man's rule

> "and Universal Peace
> Lie like a shaft of light across the land,
> And like a lane of beams athwart the sea."

Supplementary Reading

William Leighton Grane, "The Passing of War."
H. E. Warner, "The Ethics of Force."

Suggestions for Thought and Discussion on Chapter II

When is it wrong to defend one's self?

Under what circumstances has a man no right to defend himself when he is attacked?

Is there any insult which justifies the use of retaliatory force? What, for instance?

Is the principle underlying the words "Whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also" (Matthew v. 39) practicable today?

How far is it right to use force to defend someone else?

If a "bully" attacks a person weaker than himself, what should the bystander do?

What is it right to do to one who insults your own or someone else's sister?

If you see or hear a man acting brutally toward his own wife or children, to what extent is it right for you to interfere?

How far is the use of force right in business?

Why is it wrong to get a "corner" on any commodity?

When does it become wrong to "cut" prices?

Is a "boycott" right? Why?

When is a government not justified in placing a restraint on trade?

When is it right for parents to use force in dealing with their children?

How far should the child's reason be satisfied? Suppose the child is too young to be reasoned with? Or, suppose the conditions are such that there is no time to reason?

What should be the parent's object in using coercion?

What feelings in the parent tend to nullify the value of any discipline he may administer? Why?

What is the legitimate function of force?

Is all conflict war? (See Supplementary Note VI on "Relation of Man's Struggle with Nature to his Struggle with Fellow-man.") How far is conflict necessarily unfriendly?

How far would force be needed in an ideal state of society? (See Supplementary Note I on "The Subsidence of Force in the Narrower Social Relations.")

What are the legitimate duties of the state, the family, and the individual in the use of force?

To what extent can the ethics of the individual in the use of force be applied to nations?

Why do certain Christian bodies preach and practise the policy of complete non-resistance? (See Supplementary Note IV on "Do the Old Testament Sanctions of War

Still Hold?") Is it practicable and wise? (See Supplementary Note III on "Are the Best Armed Nations the Most Prosperous Commercially?"; and Note V on "Relation of the Economic to the Ethical Aspect of War.")

What is necessary to make force effective?

What functions of the policeman of today would be eliminated and what retained if force could be ideally used?

What considerations should determine the strength of the army and navy? How far should their size depend merely upon actual present conditions and how far on possible future emergencies?

To what extent is armament necessary to the legitimate use of force by a nation? Would there be need for an army and navy if war were impossible?

What should be the attitude of the individual toward the use of force?

To what extent can the principle of "cooperation of all for the highest good of all" be used in relations among nations? In relations among individuals? (See Supplementary Note X on "The Growing Desire for Arbitration.")

WHY LOOK ESPECIALLY TO JESUS FOR LIGHT ON THE WAR PROBLEM?

CHAPTER III

WHY LOOK ESPECIALLY TO JESUS FOR LIGHT ON THE WAR PROBLEM?

In discussing the moral issues involved in war, or in any other appeal to physical force, we have, most naturally, been turning to Jesus for light. But the question will rise in the minds of some, why the "meek and lowly" Jesus should in any special sense be regarded an authority on war.

In frankly facing this question we shall need to remember that Jesus lived in a military age. For generations Palestine had been the meeting-place of the East and the West. In the days when Jerusalem was a mere collection of huts Judea was the buffer state between Egypt and Babylon, and the commerce of these great countries crossed its plains continuously. The powerful nations preyed on the Jews, making war against them on the slenderest pretexts. They repeatedly carried the people into captivity; and, crowning insult of all, they even fought each other on Israel's fertile plains.

Alexander the Great had led his soldiers up and down the land and had ousted the Persians from their control, but the fiery Maccabees had thrown off the yoke of their Greek overlords, thus winning for their nation a brief

independence. Then came the Romans, who operated their armies from Antioch on the North and carried all before them, making of Palestine but another province of their world-empire. The Roman Empire was thus the background of the life of the Jews in the first century. From the hills above Nazareth Jesus could see the Latin legions marching on the magnificent highway of Esdraelon from the sea to Damascus. Rome and her armies stood for the crowning success of life. Had she not conquered all that was worth conquering? Were not her roads the highways, not only of commerce, but also of thought and culture? Was not the throne of David itself now occupied by a Roman governor, and had not the legislation of Moses been put below Roman law?

A warlike race

Jesus came also to a people of warlike passions. The Jews did not accept the situation passively. In Judea the exclusive Pharisees and their adherents remained silent and sullen, looking with hate and scorn both on the Roman and on every member of their own race who was currying his favor. In Galilee, although the spirit of the people was more liberal, although their minds were open to the influences that played upon them, there was smouldering an eternal revolt. Jesus grew up near the home of the sons of Judas of Galilee, those brave patriots who were to die soon after His death for taking part in a struggle for freedom. The very air He breathed was surcharged with revolution. These people had not forgotten the heroes of their past. The idol of their race, their own David, was a mighty warrior-king, who

had saved his people from their enemies. Had not the might of her leaders throughout the centuries made Israel rise to the highest heights? And was it not by the might of her enemies that she was now plunged into the very pit of degradation?

Military hopes

Jesus found among the Jews more than a military spirit. He discovered a people looking for a great general. Their prophets had led them to expect that some day there would appear a worthy successor to the warrior David, who should lead them on to new and greater victories. There were many, especially in Galilee, who, thinking of their Messiah as the lion who was to deliver them from the Romans, were ready, whatever the odds, to rise at the first call of the Coming One. They looked upon Him as a leader of armies, a Commander-in-Chief. Surely He would free God's chosen people from the hated conqueror and reestablish the lost Kingdom of the great David. Quite apart from the hopes inspired by prophets it is little to be wondered at that the Jews felt strongly the need for freedom. Simple patriotism would have driven them to desperate schemes, and the world knew but one path to liberty, the path which lay along dark valleys of desolation and death.

The temptation to be a military leader

Jesus could not have been insensible to the grievances of the age. He must have felt the wrongs of His countrymen as keenly as any other descendant of David. He belonged to a race with a noble history, which believed itself especially called to fulfil a divine mission.

But the glory of the race had departed, and its opportunity to influence the world had seemingly passed. It was no longer free to work out its destiny, but was trampled under foot by powerful Rome—fearless, successful, and implacable. The sword was Rome's only title to the soil of Palestine. The Emperor was a tyrant, the Roman governors of the Jewish provinces were cruel, and the Herodians and the Sadducees, their henchmen, were objects of contempt. Was not the cause of Israel a just one, and should not her liberation command the courage and fidelity of every lover of righteousness?

The temptation to fulfil the popular ideal of a military Messiah was one of Jesus' great temptations. The simple but graphic story has Him standing on the top of an exceeding high mountain, where He views the Kingdoms of the world in vivid panorama.[1] The world's way to win these Kingdoms was through the worship of Force. The popular leadership of a mighty commander had its manifest advantages. A successful conquest under a wise and indomitable leader had in the course of history often brought happiness to distracted peoples. Then, too, there might accrue an enlarged opportunity for spiritual influence when once His power had been established! The intense reality of His inner struggles is hidden in His passionate reply: "Get thee hence, Satan: for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve." To have yielded to this temptation would have implied a denial of God. Jesus realized that "deeper down than militarism lies the materialism out of which it springs. The whole idea that armed force can overthrow false ideals or establish true

[1] Matt. iv. 8-10; Luke iv. 5-8.

ones, rests upon an inadequate conception of God, and a failure to rely fully upon the power of love and goodness to overcome evil."[1]

The crowning issue

Jesus accepted, and indeed assumed, the Messianic title, but positively rejected the conditions the Jews would impose. He won many people to Him in the early days of His ministry; but when the conditions of discipleship became clear, they deserted Him in multitudes. When they found that He had no thought of coming to blows with Rome, that the Kingdom which He was about to inaugurate was to be a Kingdom in which the material success of the Hebrew nation had no place, and that He had thus belied their hopes, they rose against Him in fury. It is not to be wondered at that the ordinary Jew could not understand what Jesus was about. Those who were keyed up to a supreme sacrifice under the leadership of the promised messenger of God were hardly in a position to see the glory of a Kingdom founded, not on force, but on brotherly love. The yearnings of a nation burning with shame and indignation are not easily turned aside, so they came to Him again and again to press on Him what seemed to them the larger vocation. They insisted that He become their great King, and it could hardly have been an easy thing for Him to resist their pleadings and hide Himself in seclusion, leaving a disappointed people behind Him. At last their leaders denounced Him to the Roman authorities as one who called Himself the King of the Jews: had He been willing to

[1] Henry T. Hodgkin, "The Church's Opportunity in the Present Crisis," pp. 6, 7.

be a King after their manner, they would doubtless have followed Him into the presence of Pilate with swords of defiance. The Romans cared little for the charge of blasphemy, but they knew enough of Hebrew history to take no chances with rising kings.

A courageous decision

Only an unbalanced estimate of character can suggest that fear played any part in this decision. Where is there the slightest hint in the early records of the effeminate traits of later portrayals of Jesus? What did the usurping money-changers think of Him? As they crowded the outer court of the Temple they were numerous enough to have thrown Him headlong into the street, and His whip of cords would have been of little avail against their assaults; but none of them could endure the fearless indignation of His righteous soul. Did His attitude to the Pharisees show lack of courage? They were no mean enemy, and in going against them Jesus took the first step toward His doom. But we do not find that He minced matters. "Hypocrites," "thieves," "blind leaders of the blind," "whited sepulchers"—are such uncompromising epithets as these consistent with cowardice? The accounts of the trial of Jesus contain not a single hint of any flinching on the part of the victim. In the cold morning hours, when courage drips out at the icy finger-tips, dressed in the most hideous mockery of royal garments, Jesus played the part of a king. The Roman governor knew himself to be ridiculously powerless in the face of such calm determination, and he admired it. What but real courage could have drawn the admiration of the cruel and time-serving Pilate?

Not the least courageous act of Jesus' life was His turning away from the military ideal set up for Him by the people. It required the supremest resolution. Was He afraid that He might fail as a military leader? Did He hesitate to take up the command of a distant and difficult enterprise? Did He shudder from tying Himself up to a forlorn hope? Let history answer: He led a forlorner hope to a grander issue. Death "with honor" on the battlefield would have been far easier than the humiliation of the cross. Yet to this bitter end He set Himself with no sign of swerving. The temptation was not finally overcome in forty days. The tempter had left Him only "for a season." When Jesus came to Jerusalem to die it was still not too late to lead a revolution. The people greeted Him with Hosannas; and such Hosannas were not intended for one who was to give Himself up to the Romans as a voluntary sacrifice, but for the King who was to lead them to victory. Jesus, however, did not refuse to drink the cup to its dregs. He counted it the climax of His career, His day of triumph. The eager disciple, who would have defended Him in the Garden of Gethsemane, was told to put up his sword, and the Messiah chose to conquer through death.

A fresh significance

To appreciate the intensity of the struggle which Jesus maintained against the military spirit and aspirations of His day is to place His words in fresh and bold relief. What striking authority they carry when considered in connection with His personal experience! His whole life hangs together. Even those who are usually suspicious of theorists know that He was one who "practised

what he preached." Any who are tempted to dilute His teachings are instantly checked when they realize the significance of the decisive acts of His life, which illuminate all His words. He thought and worked always in the spirit of His Kingdom.

What word was oftener on His lips than this very word "Kingdom," and how much more it meant to Him than to the prophets who had gone before! He sought to transform and enlarge its content. Much of His teaching dealt with its principles, and the conditions to be fulfilled in its realization. Long had He pondered before He began proclaiming His ideals; but when He did begin, He put His heavenly Kingdom ever at the forefront of all He taught. Of the few petitions which He trained His disciples to make to their Heavenly Father, the very first was this: "Thy Kingdom come." Above all other quests, and especially above the imperative duty of providing for their creature needs, He placed this paramount obligation: "Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you."[1] He indulged in no elaborate arguments, but His declarations came with the authority of one who did not speculate, but really knew. His sayings are sharp and clear, sometimes uncomfortably plain, but they are not easy to forget. They cut straight across the ideals of His age, and are none the less opposed to many of the cherished theories of our own day of boasted enlightenment.

A new world empire

Who does Jesus say are to be the possessors of world empire? Will it be the armed battalions of ambitious

[1] Matt. vi. 10 and 33.

Rome, whose dominion is now so nearly complete? Or, will some unborn nation rise to claim by might a universal sway? Or, shall the chosen people, in a similar manner but under the leadership of a greater David, fulfil their dreams of an earthly kingdom whose realm shall stretch from sea to sea, and whose capital shall be the center of power and influence to which all nations will flow by a compulsion as inevitable as that which urges the rivers onward in their course to the mighty ocean?[1] Not at all; none of these shall gain the coveted prize. Only "the meek"—that is, those nobly unselfish—"shall inherit the earth."[2] To such alone will come the blessing of God and the ultimate sovereignty of all the earth.

Then, who does Jesus say will become the world's great leader? Will it be the one who rules with a rod of iron? Or, will it be the statesman who best understands the strength and weakness of men and so shapes his political policy as to keep himself in constant favor and in growing power? Or, will it be a new King on the throne in Jerusalem whose astuteness and vision will enable him to hold for Israel the monopoly of religion and righteousness, and to enforce their restraints on all her Gentile neighbors? Not at all, for Jesus says: "The kings of the Gentiles have lordship over them; and they that have authority over them are called Benefactors. But ye shall not be so: but he that is the greater among you, let him become as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that doth serve."[3] And in order to make men realize that He speaks not in a theoretical way, but out of the deepest experience of His own life He adds the significant

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[1] Isaiah ii. 1-4. [2] Matt. v. 5. [3] Luke xxii. 25, 26.

words: "For the Son of man also did not come to be waited upon, but to wait on others, and to give His life as the redemption-price for a multitude of people."[1]

Universal values

Such teachings of Jesus, however, cannot be adequately interpreted except in the light of His life-long struggle against opposing forces in His daily environment. The calm serenity of spirit and steadfastness of purpose which He always preserved, point to a fundamental secret. He moved about under the commanding conviction that He knew the will of God, and was following it in every act of His career. The Gospel of John which lays such persistent emphasis on the character of Jesus as unique and wholly divine, bases His supremacy and His oneness with God particularly on the fact of His unity in purpose with God. Though there is much in this particular book of what we are accustomed to call the mystical, yet we find in it a never-failing insistence on the greatest of realities, the active presence of God in the world. It sets forth Jesus as a definite manifestation of this presence. He is one with God not only in thought, but also in action. Then, as the Gospel advances to its majestic close, the reader is reminded again and again that God will not cease to work after Jesus has gone, but will continue to be ever-present with His people.

The spirit and teaching of Jesus is thus an exposition of the purposes of His Father in Heaven. They involve a reversal of many of the world's estimates by emphasizing the infinite value of each human soul, the su-

[1] Mark x. 45 (Weymouth).

periority of personal character to anything that a man may own, the greatness of the power to serve as contrasted with the power to rule, the supremacy of the law of love. These reversals of conventional standards are challenges to every age. Nor are such valuations limited to individual achievement; they suggest a new appraisal of the whole round of life.

It is surely significant that Jesus accepted in His own acts the validity of all these estimates. In fact, the values themselves were first tested in His own experience. Nor did He hesitate to call upon His own nation to abandon the dreams of centuries, because they were contrary to the better purposes of God. That those purposes would prevail was to Him, of course, an absolute certainty. It was His unchanging faith that all who work in harmony with the principles He laid down would be channels through which would flow the supreme power of the Universe. He went quietly to His own death confident that the forces that were encompassing His end could not prevent Him from taking His full share in accomplishing the Father's will.

All this must give us pause. The perennial question is, What is the will of God? No scholastic reply will suffice. It is the most practical of all practical questions, for we must also ask: Are our actions in line with the eternal plan, or are we opposing our narrow human purposes to the rolling destiny of creation?

Supplementary Reading

A. W. Hitchcock, "The Psychology of Jesus."
Jane Addams, "Newer Ideals of Peace."

Suggestions for Thought and Discussion on Chapter III

Was the appeal to Jesus to be a military leader a real temptation?

To what extent would the Jews have rallied to Jesus' leadership of a revolution?

Did the Jewish national situation justify a revolution?

How far was the expectation of the Jews one of a military Messiah?

What would have been the probable outcome of a military revolution led by Jesus?

Why did Jesus refuse to lead a war party?

How far is the accusation that fear determined His decision justified?

Did He base His decision on the thought that it would be wrong or on the thought that it would be impolitic to yield?

Why have we a right to look to Jesus for light on the war problem?

What course did Jesus choose in place of a military career?

Did His life show that He had the courage of the conviction expressed in His decision?

How far were Jesus' teachings an expression of His choice in place of a military career? (See Supplementary Note XV on "Why did Jesus Order His Disciples to Buy Swords?")

In the light of His own life actions, what do His peace

teachings, especially those in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. v. vi, vii), actually mean?

To what extent do Jesus' experiences in relation to the war problem entitle Him to a hearing?

What other characters in history have dared to decide to adopt a substitute for war leadership, and have gone to the length of dying for their decision? Why should we look to Jesus for light on the war question?

WHAT IS THE MORAL GOOD IN WAR?

CHAPTER IV

WHAT IS THE MORAL GOOD IN WAR?

While it is true that "Peace hath her victories" as well as War, Peace has also her devastating defeats. Sometimes a great lethargy of selfishness grips the nation whose borders are safe from invasion. Only war, we are told, can deliver such a nation from a widespread paralysis of character. Its trumpets call men from the house of work, the field of play, and the den of sin, to strenuous service, heroic action, and sublime self-sacrifice. Francis Thompson, in celebrating the peace that followed the South African war, makes startlingly vivid the shame of a peace which only stimulates the greed for gain:

"And now, Lord, since Thou hast upon hell's floor
Bound, like a snoring sea, the blood-drowsed bulk of war,
Shall we not cry, on recognizing knees
This is Thy peace?

If . . . it be but to lay
The heavy head down the old heavy way;
Having a space awakened and then been bold
To break from them that had thee in the snare,—
Resume the arms of thy false Dalila, Gold,
Shameful and nowise fair;

Forget thy sons who have lain down . . .
Forget their large in thy contracted deed,
And that thou standst twice-pledged to being great
For whom so many children greatly bleed,
Trusting thy greatness with their deaths: if thou . . .
See in such deaths as these
But purchased pledges of unhindered mart,
And hirelings spent that in thy ringed estate
For some space longer now
Thou mayst add gain to gain, and take thine ease,—
God has made hard thy heart;
Thou hast but bought thee respite, not surcease.
Lord, this is not Thy peace!" [1]

No patriot would choose to see his nation sunk in the slough of inglorious ease, and if war be the only alternative for degeneracy, he would say with no sign of faltering, "Then let us have war!"

The antidote for degeneracy

Thus it is, as Professor James has pointed out, that the militarist feels justified in making the claim, that "taking human nature as a whole its wars are its best protection against its weaker and more cowardly self, and that man cannot afford to adopt a peace-economy." [2]

In the middle of the nineteenth century the brilliant and keen-sighted Renan unhesitatingly declared war to be fundamentally necessary to human progress. He held that, in the peaceful pursuit of individual ends, the human race would degenerate to a degree almost beyond the power of the imagination to picture, if the foolishness, negligence, idleness, and shortsightedness of states did not involve their occasional collision. Like him,

[1] Francis Thompson, *Peace* in "Poems," Vol. ii. p. 154.
[2] William James, "Memories and Studies," p. 276.

many have looked upon war as the sting which prevents a country from going to sleep, and have prophesied that the day of universal peace will be the day of humanity's greatest peril.[1]

A promoter of culture

Though Ruskin admits, "Yet truly, if it might be, I for one would fain join in the cadence of hammer-strokes that should beat swords into ploughshares";[2] still his reading of history made clear to his own mind that the kind of character which produces art is developed only in war. "All the pure and noble arts of peace are founded on war; no great art ever yet rose on earth, but among a nation of soldiers. There is no art among a shepherd people, if it remains at peace. There is no art among an agricultural people, if it remains at peace. Commerce is barely consistent with fine art; but cannot produce it. Manufacture not only is unable to produce it, but invariably destroys whatever seeds of it exist. There is no great art possible but that which is based on battle. . . . The common notion that peace and the virtues of civil life flourished together, I found to be wholly untenable. Peace and the *vices* of civil life only flourish together. We talk of peace and learning, of peace and plenty, of peace and civilization; but I found that those were not the words which the Muse of History coupled together; that, on her lips, the words were—peace and sensuality—peace and selfishness—peace and death. I found, in brief, that all great nations learned their truth of word, and strength of thought, in war; that they were

[1] Ernest Renan, "La Reforme Intellectuelle et Morale," p. 111.
[2] John Ruskin, "Crown of Wild Olive," Sec. 130.

nourished in war, and wasted by peace; taught by war, and deceived by peace; trained by war, and betrayed by peace—in a word, that they were born in war, and expired in peace."[1]

A test of national character

There are many who carry this general thesis further and maintain that war is the supreme test of national character. As military efficiency is founded, they say, on uprightness of character, it follows that the nation most efficient as a fighter is possessed of the highest moral character. Furthermore, as the most efficient nation is sure to be victorious, the victorious nation is, therefore, the nation of highest morality. Thus war becomes the supreme test of national worth, and "wars in our time are vast natural forces, having their roots far down in national character."[2]

This position is taken, for instance, by Baron von Stengel: "War has more often facilitated than hindered progress. Athens and Rome, not only in spite of, but just because of their many wars, rose to the zenith of civilization. Great states like Germany and Italy are welded into nationalities only through blood and iron. Storm purifies the air and destroys the frail trees, leaving the sturdy oaks standing. War is the test of a nation's political, physical, and intellectual worth. The State in which there is much that is rotten may vegetate for a while in peace, but in war its weakness is revealed."[3]

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[1] John Ruskin, "Crown of Wild Olive," Secs. 86 and 94.

[2] See article in *The Nineteenth Century* for February, 1899, by N. F. Wyatt, entitled "War as the Supreme Test of National Value."

[3] Professor Baron Karl von Stengel, in chapter on The Significance of War for the Development of Humanity, in "Weldstadt und Friedensproblem."

Ex-President Roosevelt has on various occasions reiterated his conviction, "that in this world the nation that has trained itself to a career of unwarlike and isolated ease, is bound, in the end, to go down before the other nations which have not lost the manly and adventurous qualities." [1]

Nietzsche has boldly declared his philosophy of war as follows: "It is mere illusion and pretty sentiment to expect much (even anything at all) from mankind if it forgets how to make war. As yet no means are known which call so much into action as a great war, that rough energy born of the camp, that deep impersonality born of hatred, that conscience born of murder and cold-bloodedness, that fervor born of effort in the annihilation of the enemy, that proud indifference to loss, to one's own existence, to that of one's fellows, to that earthquake-like soul-shaking which a people needs when it is losing its vitality." [2]

The fascination of war

War unquestionably casts a spell over the human race. It appeals to deep-seated human instincts. The milder heroes of peace are completely overshadowed by the great warriors. We have read our history in the light of a philosophy of force. Our text-books present a series of conflicts, and we seem to require a war to mark every turning point in human progress. James has reminded us, "Modern man inherits all the innate pugnacity and all the love of glory of his ancestors. Showing war's irrationality and horror is of no effect upon him. The

[1] Theodore Roosevelt, "The Strenuous Life," p. 6.
[2] Quoted in article on Peace, in "Encyclopedia Britannica," 11th edition, from "Menschliches Altzumenschliches," No. 477.

horrors make the fascination. War is the strong life; it is life *in extremis;* war-taxes are the only ones men never hesitate to pay, as the budgets of all nations show us."[1] What is it which has produced all this fascination? Does it furnish us a basis on which intelligently to estimate the good which war is said to produce?

A part of the fascination of war is the enthusiasm it arouses. As in athletics, a common desire is raised to incandescence by a supreme concentration of effort toward its realization. Another element of fascination is the way in which war calls out a man's fullest powers. The gifts of foresight and daring, the acquirements of skill and strategy, the instinct for administration or execution, the qualities of thoroughness and decision, the capacity for assuming responsibility or for meeting an unexpected situation, and the quieter graces of patience and loyalty, all appear to come to fruition in war—and nothing seems so fully to command a man's devotion as the chance to use his powers.

The virtues classified

Let us attempt to set down a plain list of the virtues brought out by war. The strictly individual virtues may be compactly grouped under seven heads: (1) Virility, involving a high degree of activity, both physical and mental; (2) Self-sacrifice, brought out both in subordination to authority and in sacrifice for the common cause; (3) Endurance, called forth through labor and pain; (4) Courage, in the face of difficulty and peril; (5) Resourcefulness, in the presence of perplexing and un-

[1] William James, "Memories and Studies," p. 269.

expected conditions; (6) Decision of character; (7) Devotion both to present duty and to ultimate ideals.

Other evident virtues promoted by war are: (1) Co-operation; (2) Cohesiveness; (3) Recognition of common good as paramount to individual interest; (4) Loyalty to social organization; (5) Sympathy in sorrow and suffering; (6) Simplicity and frugality of life.

The case against peace

The case of war as a means of discipline against peace as a source of enervation is impressively put, and many of its arguments are addressed to our finer instincts. But it rests heavily on certain assumptions which are plainly perilous.

It is assumed that war brings a sure relief to the debilitations of peace. We are bidden to view the sudden transformation of the coward into a hero, and the evil man into one who is pure and virtuous. War, the great magician, is supposed to create virile qualities out of nothing. In a previous chapter we have tried to show the precariousness of this assumption.[1] History does not bear it out. Moreover, those who press the argument fail to make mention of the reverse process by which men of poise and character are impelled, in the heat of the conflict, to give way to passions which they would blush to own.

It is also assumed that because certain qualities have in the past been developed through war, therefore, war alone can develop those same qualities in the future. We must acknowledge freely that the advocates of militarism are "right in affirming and reaffirming that the

[1] See Chapter I.

martial virtues, although originally gained by the race through war, are absolute and permanent human goods." [1] But are we compelled to add that they can be kept only by violence? Is it true that if we do not display our heroism and loyalty by taking up arms, there is nothing left for us but a lapse into the pit of selfish degeneracy?

If the qualities developed in war could be developed by no other means, every conscientious statesman would regard the condition of peace with horror and alarm, and would certainly set about arranging a series of wars, lest his people should be lost to light and honor. Here we are at the heart of our problem. While the virtues developed in war are not the only virtues of mankind, they are necessary to a noble life. Is there no other means by which they may be developed?

The demands of maturity

If in studying this question we should become convinced that the courses of action which have been followed in the past would now be wrong for us, we are not thereby compelled to pass wholesale condemnation on men who have lived before us. Developing experience should mean a developing conscience based on broader judgments, and we must march by our present light without denouncing the illumination of other ages. With characteristic discrimination Jane Addams has pointed out that "in the curious period of accommodation in which we live, it is possible for old habits and new compunctions to be equally powerful, and it is almost a matter of pride with us that we neither break with the old nor yield to the new. We call this attitude tolerance,

[1] William James, "Memories and Studies," p. 288.

whereas it is often mere confusion of mind. . . . We may admire much that is admirable in this past life of courageous warfare, while at the same time we accord it no right to dominate the present, which has travelled out of its reach into a land of new desires. We may admit that the experiences of war have equipped the men of the present with pluck and energy, but to insist upon the self-same expression for that pluck and energy would be as stupid a mistake as if we would relegate the full-grown citizen, responding to many claims and demands upon his powers, to the school-yard fights of his boyhood, or to the college contests of his cruder youth. The little lad who stoutly defends himself on the school-ground may be worthy of much admiration, but if we find him, a dozen years later, the bullying leader of a street-gang who bases his prestige on the fact that 'no one can whip him,' our admiration cools amazingly, and we say that the carrying over of those puerile instincts into manhood shows arrested development which is mainly responsible for filling our prisons." [1]

All that is asked is that we should face the future unprejudiced.

Moral equivalent of war

Present-day facts are against the assumption that we must have war before we can have the martial virtues. Most nations enter war with many misgivings. No statesman, however belligerent, denies the frightful price which must be paid, if virtues are to be bought in this way. It is our duty to find, if possible, some other way, or, as Professor James suggests, a moral equivalent of war,

[1] Jane Addams, "Newer Ideals of Peace," pp. 209-211.

analogous to the mechanical equivalent of heat. Some tell us that the nearest approach to this equivalent is to be found in preparing for war. On cruisers and battleships, in camp and barracks, in target practise and maneuvers, and by sham battles and mock campaigns they would develop in our young manhood many of the splendid qualities brought out by the more severe discipline of actual war. But the question inevitably arises, Cannot this end be attained without such preparation for war as makes war itself almost inevitable? Must millions of the strongest be maimed or slain, and must all suffer the attendant evils of war in order that some may experience certain accompanying advantages? Is there no simpler and less expensive way to train young men to be prompt and obedient, faithful and thorough, gallant and courageous? An attempt to answer these questions is found in the modern enterprises to improve playgrounds, enlarge the facilities for physical training, purify sport, and popularize chivalry. A most fascinating illustration is furnished by the Boy Scout movement, which is unquestionably proving a useful means for promoting the finer martial virtues among the youth of the world, while giving them ideals of training and service as attractive as the crude ideals of war.

Conscription of labor

The suggestion which Professor James himself made was that instead of a military conscription there be a conscription of labor, under the control of the nation. The military ideals of hardihood and discipline would be wrought into the growing fiber of the people. No young man could then come into the responsibilities of mature

life without first having learned through experience what are his relations to the globe on which he lives. Thus, James felt, all would get the childishness knocked out of them and would "come back into society with healthier sympathies and soberer ideas. They would have paid their blood-tax, done their own part in the immemorial human warfare against nature; they would tread the earth more proudly, the women would value them more highly, they would be better fathers and teachers of the following generation." [1]

Work the great educator

Canon Grane has rendered a useful service in calling attention to the truth that "Labor is the great Conqueror. Not War, but Work, is the great Educator; and the essential watchword of all permanent advance. When the militarist tells us that Peace on earth is a mere dream, and 'not even a beautiful dream;' when he solemnly warns us that 'without War the world would sink in a morass of materialism;' he appears to see no choice open between perpetuation of murder on a grand scale, and a state of demoralizing lethargy. But the world is now too old to impale itself on the horns of this imaginary dilemma. The world is becoming aware that 'Peace hath her victories, not less renowned than War' and infinitely more productive. Proof is everywhere that it is not the men that give up fighting, who lose stamina and virility; but the men who give up work. The most 'unfit' are they who least cooperate in the great struggle of their race against whatever in its environment obstructs real progress and development. And of

[1] William James, "Memories and Studies," p. 291.

all such obstacles War is the greatest, as may at any time be clearly seen from the condition of those peoples who chiefly occupy their time in conflict, either with their neighbors or among themselves. And it is these, and not the prosperous, hard-working, peace-loving populations, who reap the fruit of their transgression of primordial Law." [1]

The impulse of a cause

The really deadening influence in life is selfishness. The claim made in behalf of war is that it draws men away from just this condition of heart and mind. A great army represents a vast number of human wills putting aside personal interests for the common good. The cause takes precedence over everything else. This is what Francis Thompson evidently had in mind when he expressed the fear that many a man in doing his "contracted deed" would forget the large sacrifice made by others in the interest of all.

But there are other causes in life than those for which war is waged. All the best enterprises of men call for the great renunciation—the giving up of individual preferences and aims in the interest of what is big and ennobling. Men and women may ally themselves with causes which involve, not wholesale destruction, but a more perfect cooperation in life. The easy generalization that industrial enterprises are developers of greed and softness finds an emphatic denial in the career of men who are trying to make their business serve the community and the world. The very fact that such are as yet too few in number emphasizes the demand for every quality

[1] William Leighton Grane, "The Passing of War," pp. 61, 62.

brought out in war. Professional men need courage to make their sacrifices, and all the larger movements call for heroic leaders and stalwart followers. Even the cause of peace has its martyrs. Each one of these may have to bear a part many times harder than to face the machine-gun or be exposed to shrapnel.

A permanent cure

Peace, it is true, has still to make its case. "Peace without honor" might easily become the chronic state of civilization. We have looked in various directions for a possible "moral equivalent of war." Our present objective, however, lies far deeper than any purely moral equivalent. No superficial remedies will suffice. Men's hearts at this time are torn with grief and apprehension; in agony they are asking for a permanent cure. They are not content to feel that the stability of civilization is guaranteed by nothing surer than an appeal to arms. Nor are they willing to contemplate a future in which the world will ever be kept in dread anticipation of an ultimate harvest of death and destruction. Many are asking, Is there nowhere a power to prevent such devastation and carnage as we are witnessing today?

Supplementary Reading

William James, Chapter on The Moral Equivalent of War in "Memories and Studies."

John Ruskin, "Crown of Wild Olive."

Suggestions for Thought and Discussion on Chapter IV

What are the moral dangers which face a peaceful country?

Has the comparative peace of the United States during the last fifty years developed national qualities which make that peace inglorious?

Why do selfish tendencies flourish in time of peace?

How far do you think Ruskin correct in his estimate of the effect of war upon culture and the fine arts? (See Supplementary Note XIV on "China and the Career of Ignoble Ease.")

Which do you consider the greater test of national character—war or peace? Why?

How far is it true in modern warfare that the "nation of highest morality" wins? That the "fittest" survive? (See Supplementary Note XI on "War and the Survival of the Fittest"; and Note XII on "War and National Solidarity.")

What constitutes the fascination of war? What activities of peace have a similar fascination?

What are the virtues developed by war?

Are the virtues classified in the chapter the most desirable?

To what extent is a man possessing these virtues fully equipped for life?

What are some of the possible moral equivalents for war?

Can anything else than war develop the moral qualities growing out of war?

How far can war be depended upon to eradicate the debilitating effects of peace?

To what extent will "conscription of work" develop the same qualities as "conscription of war"? What are its disadvantages?

What other causes develop the same qualities as the war cause? To what extent are they equally potent?

Is a permanent cure for war possible?

HAS JESUS A SOCIAL EQUIVALENT OF WAR?

CHAPTER V

HAS JESUS A SOCIAL EQUIVALENT OF WAR?

To many the present calamitous conflict seems to signify the breakdown of Christianity. That there has been a collapse of much that was called "Christian" is to be freely acknowledged. Should not the professed followers of Jesus, both as individuals and as corporate bodies, go further and confess that this collapse has been, at least in part, due to their failure to translate fully enough into the life of society the spirit of their Master? After such confession has been made there will remain with a large number an abiding conviction that if the principles of Jesus were only better understood and more completely applied, the nations would discover other ways in which to settle their disputes, and men would find other methods of securing the discipline which war brings.

The principles of Jesus have never yet been given a controlling place in determining the policies of nations. Their applicability to every other relationship of life having been proved, it is to be expected that we shall in some way find them also adapted to international relations. Let us now seek to discover whether Jesus offers any way by which the virtues developed in war can be brought to an

even fuller perfection by peaceful and more spiritual processes.

Jesus and the great social movement of the Jews

When Jesus confronted the great question of His career, He knew that He was dealing with a movement recognized by the people as social. The Messianic hope, the coming of the Kingdom of God, was no vague philosophy; it was a "part of a national spirit." Social conceptions were not strange to the Hebrew. The nation had long since made with God a national covenant. Her great prophets had demanded national repentance, and everyone agreed in looking for a corporate triumph for the chosen people. Even the success of the Messiah seems to have been considered secondary to the success of the Kingdom of God.[1]

It was the evident desire of Jesus to reshape this confused social movement and direct it to the accomplishment of the purpose of God. Otherwise there would have been no value in His assuming the title of the Messiah. The Gospels show clearly that His message made more than a personal appeal to men; it held up before the eyes of the people a great national destiny.

At the very beginning, however, He had taken His stand against the military ideal; His Kingdom was founded in distinct opposition to the kingdom of violence which many Galilean patriots had in mind. It soon came into quite as distinct opposition to the ideals of the Pharisees. Their narrow interpretations of religious zeal were characterized by Him in perfectly plain language on sev-

[1] Cf. Shailer Mathews, "History of New Testament Times in Palestine," Chapter xiv.

eral notable occasions. Two powerful lines of opposition, therefore, confronted Him, and these two helped to compass His final end.

An antidote for war

Thus we see in Jesus, as He sends out His disciples to preach the Gospel of the Kingdom, a real social reformer endeavoring to turn a great national hope into a new course, that its full power might be available for the salvation of the world. In announcing this campaign Jesus meant it to be, not an alternative, but a substitute for war. By it He would fulfil the prophetic song of the angels who announced His birth to be the bringing of "peace on earth."[1] He proposed, in fact, a new corporate ideal for His people, and for all the world. The new Kingdom He came to establish was to bring men into a truer relationship with their Heavenly Father, and a closer and more brotherly relationship with each other. Thus the national mission was conceived as a great opportunity for social service.

The Kingdom, according to Jesus, stands in sharp contrast with many of our national ideals today. Was it in better accord with the national ideals of His own day? Early in His career He set forth the ideals of His Kingdom. Turning to one of Isaiah's visions of Messiah's character He read one day in the hearing of His own family and fellow-townsmen that beautiful portrayal of the God-sent messenger who would bring good news to the poor, release to the captives, sight to the blind, and liberty to the oppressed. There must have been something unusual in His manner or in the tone of His

[1] Luke ii. 14.

voice, for as He closed the book "the eyes of all in the synagogue were fastened on Him" and He proceeded to show how in Himself this vision was now finding a complete fulfilment.[1] He made it evident that He had come to inaugurate no narrow program of religious propaganda. The Jewish religion had become all but petrified by its external forms. Its leaders had failed to appreciate God's passion for the fruits of religion. They had yet to learn how disgusting were all their holy sacrifices when unaccompanied by the perfume of mercy.[2] They had failed, in other words, to apply the principles of their faith to their daily conduct. The campaign of the Kingdom would introduce into society a force with a vitalizing power sufficient to perform the miracle of miracles—the transformation of selfish men into men of love. And He contemplated giving this force right of way in every relationship in the life of men.

The underlying principle

The vitalizing force was to be the law of love; it was to be much more than a law of reciprocity. "If ye love them that love you, what thank have ye?" He asked; "for even sinners love those that love them. And if ye do good to them that do good to you, what thank have ye? for even sinners do the same."[3] Jesus broke completely away from the accepted interpretation of the word "neighbor" which Jewish casuistry had devised, by making it plain that in His mind it included even the uncongenial and despised members of society.[4] In fact, these were the very ones who to His mind most needed

[1] Luke iv. 18-21.
[2] Hosea vi. 6; cf. Matt. xii. 7.
[3] Luke vi. 32, 33.
[4] Matt. ix. 10-12; Luke x. 29-37; John iv. 27, viii. 9-11.

the ministries of love.[1] The application of His law, therefore, knows no limitations of race, color, or social rank. It includes men of every stage of advancement in civilization and culture, of every avocation and employment, of every degree of influence, and of every grade of character. It contemplates fusing these diverse elements by a common passion and the comradeship of a common cause into an ever-expanding and increasingly irresistible union, whose combined power will overcome all that hinders the complete establishment of His Kingdom.

Invincible goodwill

All this Jesus saw as a great opportunity, at first for His nation, and then for a faithful body of men to be gradually gathered out of all the nations. He saw it not merely as a struggle of individuals against adverse circumstances, but as a united adventure of a large body of strong and resolute souls. He gave His closest companions to understand that the sway of this Kingdom would some day be as universally recognized as the lightning's flash, which "cometh forth from the east, and is seen even unto the west."[2]

Suppose the Jewish people had accepted the vocation to which Jesus had called them and taken on themselves the task of practising as a nation a policy of invincible goodwill? By charity of spirit and purity of life they might have won the Roman and convinced the Greek; their very unselfishness would have shamed the Sadducee and the Herodian. For all ages they would have stood as the first example of a people wholly dedicated to the service of mankind. Their contribution to the world

[1] Mark ii. 17.

[2] Matt. xxiv. 27.

up to this point was only a part of the truth. They had shown the power of the monotheistic idea in developing righteousness. What if they had risen to their opportunity to demonstrate to all nations the fuller ideal, not only of one God, but of a Father God, of whom all men are sons, and in whom all men are brothers? Even if the nation had gone down, as Jesus did, under the pressure of hate, would the sacrifice have been unavailing?

The new movement

The Jewish people declined to undertake such a mission. Jesus was then driven to turn to a body of faithful disciples, and His later ministry was given up to the training of this little band who were to form the nucleus of the new Kingdom. For a long time they could not grasp His larger ideal. They too were patriotic Jews and thought of their nation and its great hopes in terms of material prosperity. They evidently understood but imperfectly their Master's deliberate sacrifice, and at His death their visions faded. But when they were convinced that He was alive, see their eager hopes spring up again as they ask the question: "Dost thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?"[1] The answer is a call to service.

Afterward they came to learn the nature of the Kingdom, they came to know its spiritual significance and to be convinced of the secondary place of material possessions. But, at the same time, they did not lose their sense of the corporate ideal. They translated their conception of Jesus' message into social terms of great intimacy. Israel's sense of mission is appropriated by the

[1] Acts i. 6.

Apostles for the Christian community. Paul continually refers to his fellow-Christians as part of a new divine race—the Israel of God;[1] and Peter says: "But ye are an elect race, . . . a holy nation, a people for God's own possession."[2] The thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians and the Apostle James' summary of true religion as that which leads a man to visit "the fatherless and widows in their affliction,"[3] are eternal witnesses to the writers' social habit of mind. Down through the centuries there have been many who have seen more or less clearly the vision of the larger Kingdom of God.

It is an encouraging sign that Christians today seem to be thinking of this Kingdom more and more as a new social order, a Kingdom of persons, not alone the abstract rule of God in the human heart. May it not be that when this conception takes a really strong hold on the minds of Christians, it will be easier to let this cause have first place in life?

The Kingdom in modern life

Who will take up the responsibility of fulfilling the vocation of Jesus' Kingdom today?[4] Is the thought of allegiance to this Kingdom commanding enough to place it as a cause above other causes?

With a cause involving issues so vital, results so far-reaching, and a claim so universal, can we not expect the fullest development of all the social virtues which the best wars have ever created, and look forward with confidence to the expansion and multiplication of other

[1] Gal. vi. 16. [2] I Peter ii. 9. [3] James i. 27.
[4] This chapter has been written in full recognition of the fact that the Gospel is more than a social force, and that nothing must be allowed to supplant or detract from the direct and personal sway of Jesus Christ in the individual heart.

virtues which no war could possibly produce? The establishment of the Kingdom is an exhaustless enterprise, in the interests of the whole man, and of all men. Every man has his place in its service. All good causes are caught up into it: what really worthy cause is beyond its scope?

First of all, this Kingdom is founded on the assumption that goodwill is actually invincible, and that every moral purpose entering into any national ideal may be realized only through the power of friendship and brotherhood. In the Kingdom scale of values things which must be won by personal violence are not considered worth the winning. Since the aim is to bring all men into one great and free cooperative effort, men must be won to this Kingdom.

When a man is loyal to this Kingdom, he is not disloyal to any other Good. None of the finer loyalties of his life need be sacrificed. National loyalty, love of home, adherence to social movements—as long as such ideals remain unselfish—do not conflict with the Kingdom. In the great cooperation of all for the good of all, every helper is wanted at his best.

The campaign ahead

The task is still before us. What single nation has ever conceived of a grander "national vocation" than this: to subdue nature, not for the enrichment of individuals, but for the service of mankind; to explore the field of knowledge, that every truth which will help man to be better and happier may be discovered and made available; to remake our social life in every land so that there shall be a free opportunity for every man to achieve his

best for the good of all; to bring all men to understand and appropriate the fundamental principles of justice and freedom; to overcome evil with good; to smother hate and prejudice under such an overflowing measure of goodwill that the wrong is buried forever?

If such an ideal cannot stir the hearts of men then they must surely wish for something lower. They must wish to see one nation gain all the spoil, or one class dominate their country, or one church get great wealth and worldly influence, or deeply desire themselves to secure from other men all that they can for their own use. Such ideals seem not only wrong but petty, beside the great call to make over this world here and now into a place of free opportunity, surpassing brotherhood, and boundless, active happiness.

In spite of all set-backs, the Kingdom of God is forming out of all nations; and the commerce of goodwill has begun. But the difficulties are many and the active opponents are strong. Brotherly love is the only means that will be ultimately successful; all things worth while in the world can be won by friendship. The Sermon on the Mount is the gauntlet flung down for all time to those who say that the strong arm wins the day. No true citizen need fear that a surplus of courage and devotion will be left on his hands; he will be praying for powers equal to his task.

Supplementary Reading

Walter Rauschenbusch, "Christianity and the Social Crisis," Chapters I, II, and III.

Suggestions for Thought and Discussion on Chapter V

How was the national movement of the Jews a social movement?

When is a national movement a social movement? Did the Jewish national movement meet this test?

How far do just citizens insure a just state? Can you have an unjust state made up of just citizens?

What are the characteristics of Jesus' new Kingdom?

Was Jesus a Social Reformer? Why do you make this answer?

How far would the acceptance of Jesus' principles for His Kingdom prove an antidote for war?

Why does the principle of love make the new Kingdom invincible? What is the difference between the invincible principle of love and the conquerable principle of force?

What determines the limit of the power of force in the life of the individual and the world? What is the effect of force upon free moral action?

If the adoption of the new Messianic Kingdom by the Jews had not resulted in national freedom, would it have failed of its purpose?

What differences would the inauguration of the new Messianic Kingdom have made in the life of Palestine? What differences would be found were it inaugurated today?

What is the secret of the power of the new Messianic Kingdom of Jesus?

HAS JESUS AN EQUIVALENT OF WAR FOR THE INDIVIDUAL?

CHAPTER VI

HAS JESUS AN EQUIVALENT OF WAR FOR THE INDIVIDUAL?

Terrible as war is we cannot close our eyes to the fact that it tends to enlarge the social consciousness, universalize unselfishness, promote cooperation, strengthen cohesiveness, and develop loyalty to a common cause. It has often meant "a purification and elevation of the national life. A common purpose has lifted men above themselves. They have found themselves ready to make undreamed-of sacrifices for the sake of a worthy cause. It is the power of war to evoke such efforts that makes men tolerate an evil so hateful. War is nobler than ease-loving materialism, and men are aware of it."[1]

At the outset it will seem to some a hopeless search to look to the quiet methods which Jesus used for an effective plan by which to produce an equivalent of the values for the individual resulting from war. How can such methods develop an enthusiasm for a common cause, which will be as universal as that set ablaze by war and fanned by preparation for possible war, and which will be kept burning in the hearts of men who accept no other discipline than that of the "meek and lowly" Jesus?

[1] In *Papers for the War Time*, No. 9, entitled "The Witness of the Church in the Present Crisis," p. 13.

How can any peaceful cause be great enough to give birth to the rough "martial" virtues? The challenge is a fair one, but does it not fail to take account of the fact that the program of Jesus is both mild and militant, and is as universal as it is individual? The only way in which we can test the matter is by seeking to discover the effects in the lives of men of the spirit and program of Jesus.

The discipline of Jesus

Although, as we have seen, Jesus turned away repeatedly from the achievements and glory of a military career, yet His unwillingness to "restore the Kingdom to Israel" by force was due in no sense to any shrinking from the perils or responsibilities involved.[1] He foresaw that the course which He deliberately chose would end in a most painful and humiliating death. Long before His crucifixion He began to prepare His disciples for this apparent ending of their hopes. Yet "He stedfastly set His face to go to Jerusalem," and there suffer the consequences of what He believed to be His duty.[2] One who was impressed by His resolute courage wrote that He "learned obedience by the things which he suffered."[3]

Are we to infer, then, that Jesus chose suffering as a means of discipline? It is very clear that He was extremely sensitive to both joy and pain, and that His life was rich in its emotional experiences. Undoubtedly these experiences had a profound influence upon His life and work. But is there any evidence that He consciously sought either joy or pain as an end in itself, or for any discipline that He might gain thereby? He deliberately

[1] See Chapter III. [2] Luke ix. 51; Mark viii. 31-33. [3] Heb. v. 7-8.

turned from the ascetic practice of John the Baptist. He never lived the life of a recluse; nor is there any evidence that He ever practised austerities for their own sake, or for their effect upon Himself. He was "touched with no ascetic gloom," and entered joyously into the best pleasures of those whom He loved. At the wedding feast of His kinsman, He helped provide for the entertainment of the guests. He was as much at home at the tables of the rich as in the cottages of the poor, and was constantly seeking opportunities of mingling with all sorts and conditions of men. He seemed to select His paths of duty irrespective of any enjoyment or suffering.

His fundamental choice

These facts drive us back of all His experiences of joy or pain, to a fundamental choice on the part of Jesus. Although as a boy of twelve He came to Jerusalem with an unusually active mind and the consciousness of a special mission, yet for many years longer He chose to remain under the discipline of His humble Jewish home, and to identify Himself with the common lot of His fellowmen by learning a trade, and by submitting to the limitations of life in one of the despised villages of His country. By far the greater part of His life was spent in this way; and even in the three short years of His wider ministry He still preferred to share the common lot, and to identify Himself in every way with the needs of His brother men. His followers were evidently deeply impressed with the significance of His adherence to this way of living, for one of them wrote, with the memory of His life still vivid, that "it became Him in all things

to be made like unto his brethren, that he might become a merciful and faithful" representative of the people.

His controlling motive

By thus identifying Himself with all the interests of His fellowmen, and living for their highest welfare, Jesus found His life by His very willingness to lose it. Even character and holiness ceased to be ends in themselves. His disciples remembered His words: "For their sakes I sanctify myself."[1] Emphatically He had told them: "Whosoever shall seek to gain his life shall lose it: but whosoever shall lose his life, shall save it alive."[2] Is it not evident that what Jesus did and what He suffered came from a larger motive than the desire for personal development? Are we not compelled, therefore, to go back of all external methods of discipline, and all deliberately sought experiences to the great controlling motive of Jesus' life? He was constantly seeking the will of His Father. This was the very sustenance of His life.[3] He lived so consciously and so constantly in the most intimate relations with His Father that the will of God was to Him no arbitrary rule of conduct imposed by external authority. On the contrary He found His Father's will through the deep consciousness of His own Sonship, and of His Father's purpose that all men should love Him as their Father, and one another as brothers.

His manliness

Did His passion to do the will of God fail to call out in Jesus those moral qualities which we have found are

[1] John xvii. 19. [2] Luke xvii. 33 (Marg. R. V.).
[3] John iv. 34.

developed in war? We have already noticed His uncompromising courage in dealing with the faults of men, and His calm resolution in the face of their active hatred.[1] His self-control, too, was perfect, even when He experienced the extremes of hunger and weariness, and when all about Him was in commotion. Where can we find a sublimer illustration of endurance or of self-sacrifice than in Jesus? Who has ever shown greater resourcefulness under conditions of extreme difficulty than He, as when men sought to entrap Him in His words, or to send Him headlong over a precipice? In whom has decision of character and faithfulness to duty been more fully exemplified? Is there a single trait of manliness of which He is not the supreme example? Although art has distorted our mental picture of the face of Jesus, who in all the ages has called forth such universal admiration both for the quieter virtues and for all the vigorous qualities of strongest manhood?

The followers of Jesus

In the followers of Jesus we find that similar qualities are reproduced in proportion as men have caught the vision of the all-embracing mission of the Kingdom, and of all that world-wide brotherhood really means; how much has to be righted in personal habits and purposes as well as in business, in society, and in politics, in order to make it possible for men to live as brothers.

His early disciples were constantly reminded how much greater reasons and incentives they had for physical development and self-control than had even soldiers or athletes.[2] They were taught the vital relation be-

[1] See Chapter III.

[2] I Cor. ix. 25, 26; Eph. vi. 10-17.

tween body and spirit, and the importance at any cost of keeping the body in subjection.[1] Some who had been too easy with themselves were rebuked: "In your struggle against sin you have not yet resisted so as to endanger your lives."[2] They were reminded of national heroes who had accomplished the impossible through faith, and were summoned as by a battle cry to more heroic exertion: "Let us fling aside every encumbrance and the sin that so readily entangles our feet. And let us run with patient endurance the race that lies before us, simply fixing our gaze upon Jesus."[3]

The discipline of the will

The conditions of warfare are supposed to be especially favorable for the discipline of the will; but long before modern writers pointed out the "central importance of will and action," Jesus had anticipated them by the conditions of comradeship in His warfare. Religion and life were to Him matters not merely of the affections or of the understanding, but of the will. A fundamental condition for discovering truth in His Kingdom is well set forth—"If any man *willeth* to do his will he shall know of the teaching."[4] The religion of Jesus made no attempt to satisfy merely curious intellects or purposeless emotions; its teachings were addressed primarily to the will. "If ye *know* these things, happy are ye if ye *do* them."[5] Even prayer becomes, not only clear thinking and right feeling, but both of these expressed in acts of will. Those who consistently meet the conditions of Jesus discover that "private prayer, when it is real action, is the greatest

[1] I Cor. vi. 19; ix. 27.
[2] Heb. xii. 4 (Weymouth).
[3] Heb. xii. 1, 2 (Weymouth).
[4] John xiii. 17.
[5] John vii. 17.

forge of personality. It places a man in direct and effective contact with God the Creator, the source of originality, and especially with God the Redeemer as the source of our new creation."[1] The early disciple who has most profoundly impressed the world by his thinking, learned through his own relationship with Jesus possibilities of attainment for the human will such as he had never before realized.[2]

More effective in steeling the will than even the rugged discipline of war is the strong and ever-present pull of this divine loyalty which draws men with a power far beyond the force of even the sternest necessity.

The control of the emotions

While it may be true that war has furnished an opportunity for the growth of the manly virtues, yet it must be recognized that it also tends to unbridle the natural passions of man. Little incentive is given by war for curbing hatred, lust, or the passion for self-aggrandizement. Jesus, on the contrary, makes provision for the most complete control of man's emotional nature. He was constantly calling men to realize that the heart was the fountain of life;[3] His disciples learned that "whosoever hateth his brother is a murderer,"[4] that the impure look is in reality a gross sin.[5] Jesus knew that the human heart of itself could not be emptied of these evil feelings, that only "the expulsive power of a new affection" could keep men pure. As the disciples saw the love of Jesus constantly expressed in many ways, and marveled at its in-

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[1] P. T. Forsyth, "The Power of Prayer," p. 111. See G. A. Beaver, "Every Man's Part in World Brotherhood."
[2] See Romans vii. 15-25, and viii.
[3] Mark vii. 14-23.
[4] I John iii. 15.
[5] Matt. v. 28.

fluence upon proud and sinful men and women, they must have been prepared for the larger social message, "A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another; even as I have loved you, that ye also love one another." [1]

The development of the mind

Although much can be said about the stimulating effect of war upon the intellectual life of those who bear special responsibilities, or who have unusual opportunities and incentives for thinking, must it not be admitted that upon the great mass of those who fight and those who suffer, war has often had a stupefying or stultifying effect? Jesus, on the contrary, intends that every one who accepts His conditions of discipleship shall have the best chance for all the intellectual development of which he is capable. This truth has been sadly obscured by the cupidity and intolerance of many who have borne His name. But the dealing of Jesus Himself with men always brought intellectual freedom. "If you hold fast to my teaching, then you are truly my disciples; and you shall know the Truth, and the Truth shall make you free." [2]

Instances could be multiplied of how minds of the most diverse capacities have found their freest and fullest development in the spiritual warfare of Jesus.[3] The epistles of Paul, read with special reference to the life and character which they reveal, show what the Christian equivalent of war did for one of the most original and creative of

[1] John xiii. 34. [2] John viii. 32 (Weymouth).

[3] In our own day the life as well as the writings of Phillips Brooks are a most inspiring commentary upon this subject. See especially his lectures: The Influence of Jesus on the moral, the social, the emotional, and the intellectual life of man. John Woolman's "Journal" illustrates what Jesus can do for the intellectual life of a man with quite different opportunities and capacities.

minds. Paul found in Jesus a relationship to God and to his fellowmen which changed his entire conception of life and service. This is evident from the way he was driven into Arabia to think, and from all his subsequent life and writings. It was from a new intellectual point of view that he wrote: "If any man is in Christ there is a new creation: the old things are passed away; behold they are become new."[1]

A spiritual conflict

Such is the self-control and such the discipline of intellect, feelings, and will which the Christian equivalent of war offers to every individual who will enlist in the struggle against evil. It "is not a conflict with mere flesh and blood, but with the despotisms, the empires, the forces that control and govern this dark world—the spiritual hosts of evil arrayed against us in the heavenly warfare."[2] None of the fundamental evil motives of carnal war can thrive in this warfare of the soul. It is not a fight for material possession, nor is it a fight for greatness; so there can be no greed or selfish ambition. Still less can there be hatred or retaliation.[3] And yet it is a fight of supreme importance, for it is a question of life itself. Jesus said He had come to bring this life more abundantly. "What doth it profit a man," He said, "to gain the whole world, and forfeit his life?"[4] The conditions which He laid down as essential for this life are, therefore, no less exacting, and are far richer in incentives and rewards than is any discipline which war can offer. He made it plain that there must be no slackening

[1] II Cor. v. 17 (Marg. R. V.).
[2] Eph. vi. 12 (Weymouth).
[3] See Chapter I.
[4] Mark viii. 36.

of discipline: "If thy hand . . . if thy foot cause thee to stumble, cut it off . . . if thy eye cause thee to stumble, cast it out."[1] Every man must be relentless with himself even to the point of sacrificing whatever might otherwise be both useful and needful, rather than allow Jesus' conditions of life to be violated.

The influence of the Cause

But, after all, the highest development is not to be secured from any mere discipline or fight for character. Is it not evident that any external regimen which seeks to be a moral equivalent of war must fail, as the Mosaic Law failed, because it does not have in it the life-giving spirit? Whatever the beneficent effects in character accomplished by war, they arise, not chiefly out of the discipline of military regulations, but out of the spirit of sacrifice and devotion which leads men to forget themselves in a cause that is far greater than any individual or than any self-centered friendships or merely local interests. If, therefore, we would seek from Jesus a moral equivalent for the effect of war upon character, we must go with Him back of His ethical teaching and of any external habits of His life, back even of His principles and ideals, to the fundamental motive of His life—His relationship to His Father in Heaven. If we would thus follow Him to the only source of enduring character, we must find and maintain the most favorable conditions for the growth of this filial relationship with our Heavenly Father, and of the consequent brotherly relations with our fellowmen. We must learn like Him

[1] Mark ix. 43, 47.

to find our lives by losing them in the larger life of the great Kingdom which He came to establish among men.

Paul's life and letters illustrate how essential the social and world-wide program of Jesus is to the highest development of the individual. Paul had no doubt that he was spending himself in the one great undertaking in which he could find his largest growth. Whether he was sewing tents or writing letters, taking virtual command in a shipwreck, or speaking to curious Athenians, it was his life to serve those whom he would win for the new brotherhood. Most of those whom he won likewise counted no sacrifice too great for the common cause. There is no doubt that their Father's love, as they had discovered it in Jesus, made better and stronger men of them and of their fellow disciples than could any influence of war or any hopes of mere political freedom. The human impossibility of their insignificant numbers making any great impression upon the world, and their common peril from both Jews and Romans, developed not only daring faith, but loving unity and heroic sacrifice.

The immediate duty

How are we to have the moral equivalent of these conditions in the complex and luxurious life of our day? And how is the hope of real brotherhood to be made as compelling to us as it was to the Apostles? Doubtless many things never before attempted must be undertaken by the Church, and by various forms of Christian organization, to make our sense of brotherly obligation more definite and imperative. National and community governments also have much to do in making the conditions of

real brotherhood possible for all men. These new undertakings in Church and State will bring to every individual most important duties of which he is now but dimly aware. Some of these duties have been touched upon elsewhere. Many are too far reaching for discussion here, but will be more fully disclosed as men of all nations resolutely set themselves to establish righteous and enduring peace. This enterprise, which individual Christians as well as governments, and even the Church itself, have too long neglected, offers a field where the virile qualities are most necessary, and where they should be exercised to the utmost.

But where and in what spirit shall the individual make a beginning if he would find the best equivalent of war? Must he not throw himself, as the Apostles did, into the world program of Jesus with the completeness of their devotion, before he can expect in his individual life the effects which they experienced? The whole tenor of the New Testament shows that all pride of race, position, or achievement must be put away, and that the teachable spirit, which Jesus alone can impart, must be brought into all the relationships of life. How can this be done except by the method which Paul found necessary—the actual daily living of the Christ-like life?

The great adventure

No one can go far in this endeavor without discovering that it is the great adventure, that nothing else brings so completely into play all that is best and strongest in human nature. Our very failures in trying to bring real love into every transaction of life, and into the winning of our fellowmen to the hope and purpose of Christian brother-

hood, will compel new discoveries of God's resources as our Father and their Father. We shall find that only as the Spirit of Jesus dominates our thought and action can His influence be exerted through us upon those whom we would lead into His friendship and service.[1] Then prayer for others, as well as personal communion with God, will take a new and larger place in our life and we shall trust Him to do His work in His own way. As He thus works through us the experiences of Jesus and of those who knew Him best will be so repeated that the New Testament will become reenacted for our day. We ourselves shall become a new creation; old things will have passed away; all things will become new.[2] We shall see that every one must come through the unity of the family of God, as no individual or even race can come alone, to the knowledge of the Son of God. He will be revealed more completely to us, as men of every race and nation seek to know and serve Him better, and as they are set free to work out their own destiny within the larger unity of faith. Thus each shall come, in the only way possible for us, "unto a full grown man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ."[3]

Supplementary Reading

Study carefully the Scripture references mentioned in the footnotes.

W. M. Ramsay, "St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen."

Lives of militant leaders in the church, such as Martin Luther, Francis Xavier, John Wesley, and David Livingstone.

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[1] Gal. ii. 20. [2] II Cor. v. 17. [3] Eph. iv. 13.

Suggestions for Thought and Discussion on Chapter VI

What is the place of hard things in the development of character?

What is the difference in the effect on character of football, baseball, and golf?

How far is conflict necessary to the development of character? What is the difference between conflict in games and conflict in real life?

How far are difficulties essential to developing strong character? Why does a hard task make so strong an appeal to young persons?

What is the difference in the effect upon character between self-inflicted hardship and sacrifice for a worthy enterprise? Is it inevitable that sacrifice will be necessary in following a worthy cause? Why, or why not?

What was the effect upon Jesus of devotion to His cause?

For your ideal of Jesus, what changes would be necessary in His representation in religious art?

What "martial" qualities were developed in Jesus' life by His service in His cause?

What was the effect of devotion to His enterprise upon Jesus' followers?

What effect did following Jesus have upon the courage of the early Christians? How many of them can be included in the roll of the courageous?

How far is war necessary if strong will power is to be developed through devotion to a cause?

What is the difference in the effect of stern necessity and of voluntary loyal action for a worthy enterprise?

What is the difference in the development of will power between war and loyalty to the Christian enterprise?

What emotions does war develop? Do worthy or unworthy emotions predominate?

What is the difference in the effect upon the emotions between devotion to a war cause, and to a peaceful cause? Between war and the Christian enterprise?

What light does history throw upon the contributions of war and of the Christian Church to the development of the intellect?

What new qualities of leadership were developed after Paul gave himself to the Christian enterprise? For what qualities of leadership did he find no further use?

In which cause are motives and opportunities first exhausted—a cause promoted by war methods or the great Christian cause?

What is the real secret of the moral effects of war?

How far does the secret lie in the discipline and combat, and how far in the spirit of devotion to the cause represented in the war? In what ways is the secret of the development of Christian character similar?

What are the opportunities in the life of today for practical enterprises equal to war in their moral effects upon the individual?

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

I

THE SUBSIDENCE OF FORCE IN THE NARROWER SOCIAL RELATIONS

A familiar illustration of the subsidence of the appeal to physical force in individual relationships is furnished by the almost complete disappearance of slavery from modern life. In Rome's palmiest days three-fourths of the people were slaves, chained in the fields when at work, chained at night in their dormitories, or chained to the doorways as porters. Slavery was the foundation of a type of society which has not had the vitality to survive. It was discovered that free labor was more profitable than slave labor because the free man took an intelligent interest in his work.

Mr. Angell graphically illustrates it, "Here are two men: one is digging; the other is standing over him with a whip or a weapon. We are apt to think of one as bond, and the other as free; but both are bond. If the man with the whip or weapon is thirsty, and wants to go to the river to drink, he cannot; his slave would run away. He is sleepy and wants to sleep, equally he cannot. He would like to hunt; equally he cannot. He is bound, tied to the slave much as the slave is tied to him. His work of control, compulsion, watching, whatever you

care to call it, is not directly productive at all; it is only indirectly productive, necessitated by the resistance of the slave. If we can imagine the slave driver or owner, wearied with this arrangement, saying to the slave, 'I am going hunting, and if you will stay here and do this task during the day, I will give you half of the proceeds of my hunt,' and the slave agreeing to this, you double the productivity of the two men; you have two producing instead of one. Indeed, you have more, because if the offer is such as really to involve a voluntary agreement on the part of the slave—a desire to do the work in order to get the reward—all the energy which the slave originally devoted to looking for a chance of escape is now liberated for his task." [1]

The economic argument for the abolition of slavery has been everywhere reinforced by the moral motive which has demanded the recognition of the rights of the individual; in fact men have often been more prompt in responding to the moral than to the economic appeal, as was clearly the case when slavery was abolished from the United States of America.

Another illustration of the subsidence of force is found in judicial procedure. A century and a half ago torture was largely resorted to in the trial of criminals. But it was gradually realized that the use of force really defeated its own ends, for the prisoner was quite as likely to lie as to tell the truth. Torture was, therefore, abandoned as useless as well as cruel.

Similarly with the physical punishment of crime. In England branding and mutilation were common, and capital punishment was the penalty for many petty misdeeds.

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[1] Norman Angell, "Arms and Industry," p. 14.

But violent crime was rampant. Though the highwaymen carried their lives in their hands, they swarmed upon every road. When the excessive penalties were abrogated, crime diminished; and as our leaders are learning that punishment should be the instrument of reform rather than retribution, moral force is gradually being substituted for physical.[1]

In the evolution of the modern science of education there has likewise been a marked tendency to relegate the use of physical force to the limbo of obsolete and discarded methods. And yet it once held a very prominent place in educational practice. There was a time when the average school boy received constant thrashings. His lessons were supposed to be thrashed into him, and his faults thrashed out. But it was finally discovered that such discipline did not always result in either scholarship or character. Scarcely any one today would venture to advocate the reintroduction of the harsh methods of former generations, realizing that they tended to blunt the feelings and thus to retard true progress. Present-day methods are based on the assumption that the appeal to reason and conscience is more effective and productive of better and more permanent results than any form of mere physical coercion.

II

MILITARY POWER AND NATIONAL WEALTH

The underlying assumption of the militarist party is clearly set forth by Frederic Harrison, who declared that

[1] Cf W. E. Wilson, "Christ and War," pp. 154, 155.

if England allowed Germany to outrun her in the race of armaments "famine, social anarchy, incalculable chaos in the industrial and financial world would be the inevitable result."[1] A similar attitude was taken by Professor von Schulze-Gaevernitz, of Germany, who said: "We want our navy in order to confine the commercial rivalry of England within innocuous limits, and to deter the sober sense of the English people from the extremely threatening thought of attack upon us. . . . The German navy is a condition of our bare existence and independence, like the daily bread on which we depend not only for ourselves but for our children."[1]

The policy that regards national wealth as dependent on military power has doubtless to a degree been justified in the experience of the past. In the days of the Romans, for instance, the conqueror often received material advantage from pressing his conquest. Government and soldiers together shared the acquisition of land, loot, and labor which accrued from their victories. In the middle ages, too, economic conditions were such as to make war profitable to the victors, who could often win possessions and slaves without a disproportionate outlay of life and treasure. Within comparatively recent times the conquest of uncivilized or only partially civilized races has brought material advantage to the conquering nation and to some extent to the world at large, for it has resulted in the opening of new markets.

War in the past has also undoubtedly been stimulated by trade. Competition for the trade of the Levant during the period of the Crusades kept the cities of Italy in a constant state of mutual antagonism. Spain and the Nether-

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[1] Quoted in "The Great Illusion," p. 6.

lands fought for the trade of East India. England and France were in arms against one another for a century over problems of trade. Venice in early modern times became more warlike as its commerce grew, and England enlarged her equipment for war with the expansion of her trade routes.[1] In view of such historical facts as these it is of real importance to discover, if possible, whether the power to wage war is still an economic advantage.

Even a superficial survey of the conditions which now obtain make it evident that there remain but few direct sources of gain from conquest. Generally speaking, there have been three such sources in the past: confiscation, tribute, and indemnity. Do any of these three avenues lead to national wealth in the present age?

In a day when private property is inviolable, except for some fair equivalent, and little public property is portable, it is difficult to discover wherein a modern power could possibly gain any appreciable return from confiscation. The only public wealth which could be seized is either in the form of buildings, which cannot be transported, or of paper tokens and contracts which lose their value in proportion as the conditions of war prevail. The value of stocks and bonds would rapidly depreciate if taken as booty. Moreover, the panic caused by such confiscation would so react on the business interests of the conquering power as to amount practically to economic suicide. This is so evident that modern armies usually find it wiser to pay for all supplies than to risk the economic difficulties connected with confiscation.

[1] For a full discussion of this subject see a pamphlet published in April, 1914, by the American Association for International Conciliation, entitled "Commerce and War," by Professor Alvin Saunders Johnson, of Cornell University.

The successful collection of tribute in the present day from a conquered people has become equally difficult. In proportion as the amount of tribute exacted is large, burdensome, and humiliating, in that very proportion does the commerce between the conquering and the tribute nation become crippled. Thus a tribute tends to dry up some of the otherwise active sources of national wealth. Moreover, as the wealth of a modern nation does not inhere in its government, which usually carries a heavy debt, but in its people, any course of action which will hinder or destroy the prosperity of the people must also inevitably weaken the financial standing of the government.

As for indemnities, there are those who point to the billion dollar indemnity exacted by Germany from France at the close of the Franco-Prussian war as conclusive proof that there are wars even in modern times which are financially profitable to the victorious nation. But several other facts will need to be taken into consideration before we are quite ready to accept so sweeping a conclusion.[1] It should be remembered, for instance, that one of the direct results of the Franco-Prussian conflict was an immediate increase in the German army of not less than one hundred thousand men. The cost of maintaining this increase alone throughout the forty odd years which have elapsed since the close of that war has more than counterbalanced the enormous indemnity which France paid. But what of the loss to German markets from devastation of French territory and destruction of

[1] For an interesting discussion of the economic relations between Germany and France, see "Arms and Industry," by Norman Angell, pp. 119-124.

French life, not to mention the general disturbance of the markets of Europe?[1]

No study of direct profits, however, would be complete without a consideration of direct expenses. But the cost of war is so obvious as to make statistical details superfluous. The civilized nations of the world in time of peace spend the enormous sum of two and a half billions of dollars per year[2] on preparations for war, or about two dollars per capita annually for every man, woman and child in civilization. And what is more costly: millions of the strongest-bodied men are taken from productive labor to become the coolies of militarism, while the talents of tens of thousands of the best trained minds are diverted from a multitude of enterprises and activities which make for human uplift, to be concentrated on perfecting the science and art of human destruction. Who in the face of events now being enacted will venture to claim that war is economically profitable in any direct sense?

III

ARE THE BEST ARMED NATIONS THE MOST PROSPEROUS COMMERCIALLY?

If strength of arms be the secret of economic prosperity, the best armed nations should be the most prosperous, and conversely those weakest in armament should be the least successful in trade. The evidence here has been well summarized by Mr. Angell as follows:

[1] For statistical and other evidence that Germany suffered greater financial loss from the war than did her vanquished rival, see the chapter on The Indemnity Futility, in "The Great Illusion," pp. 88-106.
[2] See "The Great Illusion," p. 190.

"The great nations of Europe do not destroy the trade of the small nations for their own benefit, because they cannot; and the Dutch citizen, whose Government possesses no military power, is just as well off as the German citizen, whose government possesses an army of two million men, and a great deal better off than the Russian, whose government possesses an army of something like four million." [1]

The same illuminating writer says in another connection:

"If a great country benefits every time it annexes a province, and her people are the richer for the widened territory, the small nations ought to be immeasurably poorer than the great, instead of which, by every test which you like to apply—public credit, amounts in savings banks, standard of living, social progress, general well-being—citizens of small States are, other things being equal, as well off as, or better off than, the citizens of great States. The citizens of countries like Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, Norway are, by every possible test, just as well off as the citizens of countries like Germany, Austria, or Russia. These are the facts which are so much more potent than any theory. If it is true that a country benefits by the acquisition of territory, and widened territory means general well-being, why do the facts so eternally deny it? There is something wrong with the theory." [2]

So far as physical comfort is concerned a prominent statistician ranks the small and comparatively unprotected States of Europe with England and France at the top of the list, whereas he puts Germany, in spite of her great

[1] "The Great Illusion," p. 35.
[2] In "The Great Illusion," pp. 47, 48.

army, sixth, and Russia, whose army and territory is the greatest of all, at the very bottom.[1]

No more conclusive evidence of the fact that armies and navies do not constitute a sure guarantee of commercial prosperity could be quoted than the actions of investors. As a class they are trained to act not from impulse or prejudice but from a thoughtful weighing of evidence: what is their verdict? They unhesitatingly demand higher rates of interest from their investments with nations which are heavily armed than from the smaller and weaker nations.

IV

DO THE OLD TESTAMENT SANCTIONS OF WAR STILL HOLD?

The convictions of those who interpret the teaching of Jesus to imply an attitude of complete non-resistance is well illustrated by the following: "As the church under a former dispensation had divine authority for engaging in war, it is important to ascertain whether this authority was abrogated under the gospel dispensation or not. That many things have been tolerated under one dispensation of the church and prohibited under another, most Christians allow. That the preceptive will of God is to be our only rule of duty, few Christians deny. The knowledge communicated to us of the preceptive will of God to His Church, under the first dispensation, is very limited. We find, however, no authority for taking the

[1] See Mulhall, in "Industries and Wealth of Nations," p. 391.

life of man in any case, not even for murder; but, on the contrary, a sevenfold vengeance was pronounced upon him who should slay the murderer. Under the patriarchal dispensation he that shed man's blood, by man was his blood to be shed. In this, defensive war was tolerated. Under the Mosaic dispensation, not only defensive but offensive war was tolerated, and not only war was permitted, but retaliation, as 'an eye for an eye'; 'a tooth for a tooth'; 'life for life,' etc.

"The question to be decided is whether these regulations are still in force, or whether they were disannulled by the gospel dispensation? The life and precepts of our Lord and His disciples while under the unerring guidance of His Spirit must be our only authority in this inquiry. That many things were done away by the gospel dispensation, none will deny who believe the gospel. The ceremonial part, which was only a shadow of good things to come, vanished away when the substance appeared; and not only the ceremonial part was abolished, but many other practices. Polygamy was permitted under the law, but forbidden under the gospel. Divorce was allowed under the Mosaic but prohibited under the gospel dispensation, except in the case of adultery. Under the Mosaic dispensation the penalty for whoredom was stoning to death. This penalty was not enforced under the gospel dispensation, as may be seen in John viii. 11. That all kinds of war, revenge, and fighting were utterly prohibited under the gospel dispensation we think appears evident, not only from the life of our glorious Mediator but from His express precepts. Jesus answered, 'My kingdom is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews.' No comment can add force

to this passage, for it is apprehended that no language can be more explicit against defensive war.

"In Christ's Sermon on the Mount he quoted a passage from Exodus, 'Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth: but I say unto you, That ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also.' The force of this passage has generally been obviated by saying that we are not to take all the words of our Lord literally. Although this is admitted, yet we are absolutely bound to take the spirit of every word, if we can understand them, by comparing Scriptures with Scriptures. That the spirit of this passage is directly opposed to that of the one our Lord quoted from Exodus, we think cannot fairly be denied; and, of course, it disannulled it, for He who had power to make laws under one dispensation had power to abrogate them under another.

"The blessed Mediator did, in the most explicit manner, command His subjects to love their enemies and render good for evil. This command, we are of opinion, is totally incompatible with resisting them with carnal weapons. He says, 'But I say unto you which hear, Love your enemies, do good to them which hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you.' Let us for one moment compare this precept with defensive war and see if it can consistently be put into practice. Suppose our country is invaded and a professed disciple of the Prince of Peace buckles on the harness and takes the field to repel by the point of the sword his enemy. He advances amidst the lamentations of the wounded and the shrieks of the dying to meet his foe in arms. He sees his wrath kindled and his spear uplifted, and in this trying moment he hears his Lord say, 'Love your enemy

and render to him good for evil'; and his kindness to him is like Joab's to Amasa; he thrusts him through the heart and hurries him to the awful tribunal of his Judge, probably unprepared. Dear brethren, be not deceived; for God is not mocked. Who amongst our fellow-men would receive the thrust of a sword as an act of kindness? Only let conscience do its office, and there will be no difficulty in deciding whether defensive war is inconsistent with the gospel dispensation or not. Carnal and spiritual weapons will no more unite under the gospel dispensation than iron and miry clay.

"Our very salvation depends on being possessed of a spirit of forgiveness to enemies. 'If ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses.' If men invade our rights and trespass upon our privileges, is it forgiveness to repel them at the point of the bayonet? The honest Christian will find no difficulty in conscientiously deciding this question, notwithstanding he may be slow of heart in believing all that is written." [1]

V

RELATION OF THE ECONOMIC TO THE ETHICAL ASPECT OF WAR

Inasmuch as it deals not with the moral and spiritual interests of man, but rather with his material well-being, the economic argument is of subordinate importance to the ethical and religious arguments. This concession,

[1] David Low Dodge, "War Inconsistent with the Religion of Jesus Christ," pp. 141-144.

however, does not imply that any discussion based on man's material interests is necessarily selfish. We are dealing with a force in human society which has a direct bearing on the comfort and well-being of vast numbers of people. If war brings hardship and poverty to hundreds of thousands of people, it is surely a social obligation to consider wherein and to what extent the economic evils of war can be averted. If, on the other hand, war stimulates the commercial prosperity of a nation, it is equally a social duty to consider in what ways this prosperity may be increased without disproportionately increasing the attendant suffering involved in war.

When economics is made to include the welfare of all the people, it carries with it implications that are ethical. Two extreme views, however, meet us at the outset of our enquiry: that held by prominent pacifists of the new school who consider the moral argument inadequate, if not irrelevant; and that taken by leading militarists, as well as by a majority of pacifists, who regard the economic argument as utterly unworthy, if not futile.

The former attitude is illustrated in Mr. Angell, who declares that the common sense of ordinary humanity does not follow the peace advocate who pleads that we have no right to take by force. In proof of this Mr. Angell cites the commonly accepted standards which obtain in the commercial world, leading men to take advantage of the weaknesses of their fellow-men to undermine and undersell. Since competition in business causes as real suffering as does war, and yet is justified in the eyes of men generally, why should competition between nations be ethically condemned? "I have never, indeed, taken the ground," Mr. Angell adds, "that the defender of war is morally inferior to the defender of peace, or

that much is to be gained by emphasizing the moral superiority of the peace ideal. . . . The emotion of humanity repelling it from war may be more than counteracted by the equally strong moral emotion that we connect with patriotism. The patriot admits that war may occasion suffering, but urges that men should be prepared to endure suffering for their country."[1]

The other view is held by such militarists as the late Admiral Mahan, who said: "So far as the advocacy of Peace rests upon material motives like economy or prosperity, it is the service of Mammon; and the bottom of the platform will drop out when Mammon thinks that War will pay better."[2] There are also many pacifists who take a similar attitude, as, for instance, Canon Grane, who declares, "I am convinced that the ethical and spiritual aspects of the paramount claim of Peace carry the subject into deeper currents of our nature, come closer to the springs of volition, and are more likely to be felt finally imperative than the aspect which is mainly economic."[3]

The conditions which have impelled some to think deeply on the economic aspect of the case seem to be the very ones which have driven others to more conclusive thoughts regarding the ethics of the subject. With both classes the outstanding phenomenon has been the greatly increased intimacy and complexity of human relationships. This has meant to the one group a greater economic interdependence and therefore the futility of mutual fighting; and to the other group an intensification of the ethical obligations between man and man; and

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[1] Norman Angell, "The Great Illusion," p. 169; cf. also pp. 9-12.
[2] Quoted in "The Passing of War," p. 3.
[3] W. L. Grane, "The Passing of War," p. 5.

therefore the conviction that "the outcome," to use the words of Professor Bosworth, "will be determined by the character of the men concerned in the crisis."[1] Whatever view may be taken of the relative importance of the economic and ethical arguments it is at least evident that modern social conditions have greatly affected both aspects of the subject.

VI

RELATION OF MAN'S STRUGGLE WITH NATURE TO HIS STRUGGLE WITH FELLOW-MAN

Man's use of force has chiefly been in two directions: in his struggle with nature and against his fellow-man. Against nature he has developed an increased ability to apply it effectively through the substitution of machinery for mere muscle. Aristotle foresaw, though dimly, the necessary connection between man's struggle with nature and his use of force against his fellow-man, when he said: "If the hammer and the shuttle could move themselves, slavery would be unnecessary." But men generally have failed at the time to realize the real bearings of each step in their advance towards gaining control over natural forces.

Printing was at first looked upon as merely a newfangled idea by which a great many monks and scribes were thrown out of employment. But did any then realize that by the simple invention of movable type a power greater than that of empires had been released? Men in the mass could not rise above the limitations of

[1] Edward Increase Bosworth, "A Call for Character," p. 8.

superstition and ignorance until the accessibility of the printed page made cooperation in larger things possible by helping to usher in the day of individual liberty and of democratic fraternity. In fact the more man has succeeded in his struggle with nature, the less has he contended against his fellow-man, for the simple reason that with each success in the struggle against nature human society has become a completer organism. Each part being, therefore, more dependent on the other parts, cannot afford to inflict injury on them. This has meant a steady impulse to redirect human pugnacity away from men towards the complete subjugation of nature.[1]

VII

WILLIAM PENN'S HOLY EXPERIMENT IN CIVIL GOVERNMENT

In this connection the experiment of William Penn is of real interest. The following are the words of Benjamin F. Trueblood at a Public Commemorative Service held in Association Hall, Philadelphia, December 14, 1894, on the occasion of the placing of the Statue of William Penn on the City Hall:

"It was a 'holy experiment' because it was founded in love, built up on the principles which love dictates, and carried forward in the faith which is inspired and sustained by love. . . . Not only is William Penn's history incomparably clear, but it is also clearly unlike any other piece of human history. In its grasp of the princi-

[1] Cf. Norman Angell, "The Great Illusion," p. 279.

ples of liberty, equality, and brotherhood, and of the secret of their successful establishment among men, and particularly in its heroic application of these principles and of this secret in the constitution and government of a Commonwealth, it stands apart an absolutely unique chapter in the history of men and of States. . . .

"William Penn was born and reared a soldier. His ancestry for two generations had been men of war. But for the miracle of grace which converted him to pure New Testament Christianity and subdued the fighting nature within him, he would most probably have become the admiral of an English fleet or the commander of an army. He had, therefore, as the divinely appointed prophet and leader of a new age, to break not only with his time but also with his own flesh and blood. . . . His purpose in buying of the king lands here in America and in preparing a charter for the government of the colony which he was proposing to plant, was that he might establish a Christian State, based from the start on Christian principles, created and directed in the spirit of Christian love, a State in which the governing and the governed might realize together the blessings of the brotherhood taught by Jesus Christ. It is true that Penn went further in the principles of pure democracy than was the case in the other colonies, but he did this for the same reason that led him to banish the sword, and there were not a few occasions in the early history of the colony when the absence of the sword proved to be the greatest safeguard of the liberties of the infant democracy.

"He loved his Commonwealth, and gave himself for it. He might have built up a colossal fortune through his proprietary rights, the granting of monopolies and re-

strictions on trade. But he resisted all the seductions of wealth, that others might be free and happy and prosperous. He was true to his promise that the colony should be free and self-governing. His powers as governor he allowed to be gradually restricted that neither he nor any of his successors might ever be able to work mischief. . . . He kept his purpose that no soldier or emblem of war should, by his authority, be seen in the Commonwealth. Even his police, when there were any, he did not arm. . . .

"The peace experiment was successful for seventy years, though a considerable part of the colony always opposed it and clamored for arms. Seventy years of peace in the turbulent atmosphere of that time meant much more than it would mean now, and is as near a demonstration as anything short of actual trial could be that the same thing might be done again by any State or nation whose people were convinced that it ought to be done, and which had the courage to try it. . . . Civilization is plodding slowly, surely upward along the lines marked out by him whose work we commemorate tonight, and all nations will one day drop their armor, disband their armies, call home their sea-dogs, and rule thereafter by love and moral force alone."

The *Gentleman's Magazine* for October, 1902, contains a detailed description by E. E. Taylor of William Penn's experiment:

"William Penn had three leading objects in essaying this 'holy experiment': to set up an example to the nations; to afford an asylum to his persecuted fellow-religionists and to all unsettled Nonconformists in a 'free colony for all mankind', and to exercise perfect justice in his dealings with the poor Indians.

"Various measures were at once taken to make the new colony known, and in July, 1681, there appeared the first 'deed of settlement.' . . . The document consists of twenty short clauses, designed to guide the first steps of the young colony without hindering legitimate growth; it is remarkable for the Proprietor's endeavor to prevent large areas of land getting into the hands of a few men who would simply hold and not develop, and for his insistence upon the equal rights possessed by the Indian and the white settler. . . . All differences between planter and natives were to be settled by six of each class sitting together. Of himself Penn said: 'I propose to leave myself and successors no power of doing mischief, that the will of one man may not hinder the good of a whole country.' . . .

"In October, 1682, Penn landed at Newcastle amid great demonstrations of joy. . . . Then the great law of Pennsylvania was formally passed. . . . Penn's complete inability to discover the right men for the responsible positions at the head of his government seriously affected the progress of the new colony, especially during his long absences from it. . . . But the final blow to the colony came as the result of the Quaker objection to the provision and use of arms. The colony was asked by the Crown to contribute money for this purpose and refused. This, coupled with the unsettlement consequent upon recent events . . . caused the withdrawal of the government from Penn in 1692. Two years later, however, the governorship was restored, on the colony promising to provide money and men for the defence of the frontiers. . . . He . . . returned to Europe in 1701, in order to appear before the Lords, who wished to convert the Provinces and Territories into

Crown colonies. From this time, with exceptions, to 1718, when the Proprietor's death occurred, the colony proved a heavy weight on his shoulders.

"But Penn's comparative failure proved the starting-point for other notable achievements; while he showed that 'he belonged to the rarer and nobler type of governing men who see the golden side, who count faith, piety, hope, among the counsels of practical wisdom, and who, for political power, must ever seek a moral basis.'[1] Much might be said of the rapid growth of Pennsylvania and of its capital by way of illustrating the sure foundation Penn laid for his country's prosperity.[2]

"From 1701 to 1719 there was little unsettlement with the Indians. It is clear that the whole government of Penn considered it their emphatic interest to maintain warm friendship with the Indians, although when it served their purpose they would grumble at the 'great expense' caused their colony by the maintenance of the alliance.

"The virtual termination of the covenant, with the commencement of the Indian war in 1754, was due to plain causes, the chief of which was no doubt the very small representation in the government held by the Quakers (they lost effective control in 1756) . . .

"The history of Penn's relations with the Indians is not complete without a reference to the estimation in which they held him personally. This is, of course, most eloquently shown by the seventy-four years of active friendship existing between the two peoples. Indeed, this

[1] John Morley on Oliver Cromwell.

[2] "Pennsylvania became the most consistently free colony in the country, the most consistently prosperous, the most rapid in its growth in freedom and prosperity. So nearly had the inhabitants everything that they could desire that they hesitated to take up the revolutionary cause in 1775." "A Quaker Experiment in Government," J. Sharpless.

period may be indefinitely prolonged if the Quakers only are concerned; for it is a striking fact that when a state of war at last existed between the Indians and the colony, no true Quaker was disturbed. If a so-called Quaker took to a gun, why, then, not being acquainted with him personally, the Indians treated him as an enemy, knowing 'that the Quakers would not fight nor do them any harm.'"[1]

Penn's high policy of basing his relations with the native tribes of North America upon the *natural rights of all mankind*—not upon the supposed interests of trade—is thus shown, by a contemplation of its fruits, to have been amply justified. For the times it was a bold and original attempt; its final success is honorable to him who conceived the project, and is pregnant with lessons for the present generation.

VIII

WAR AND THE EXPANSION OF TRADE

The contention that a modern government can directly profit by war is supported by evidence so palpably incomplete that militarists themselves have largely ceased to press it. They fall back, however, on the broader assumption that war is necessary for the protection and expansion of trade. Grand Admiral von Koster, of Germany, expressed such a conviction, when he said: "The

[1] In 1776 Chalkley, an English Quaker, who travelled extensively in and around Pennsylvania, was able to declare, from the evidence he had gathered, that during the Indian raids in other parts of the New England States, among the many hundreds slain only three Friends were killed, *and these because they took up arms.*

steady increase of our population compels us to devote special attention to the growth of our overseas interests. Nothing but the strong fulfilment of our naval program can create for us that importance upon the free-world-sea which it is incumbent upon us to demand. The steady increase of our population compels us to set ourselves new goals and to grow from a Continental into a world power. Our mighty industry must aspire to new overseas conquests." [1]

Comte de Gartden, of France, gave expression to a similar sentiment in these words: "Every State in its external relations has, and can have, no other maxims than these: whoever, by the superiority of his forces and by his geographic position, can do us harm is our natural enemy; whoever cannot do us harm, but can, by the extent of his forces and by the position he occupies, do injury to our enemy, is our natural friend." [2] A distinguished American ambassador, whose service abroad gave him peculiar opportunities to study political problems declares: "The assumption which lies at the foundation of classic diplomacy is that every State is seeking to appropriate for itself everything in the world that possesses value, and is restrained from actually doing so only by the resistance it may encounter." [3]

The English author of a recent book entitled "The Struggle for Bread," puts the same doctrine still more emphatically thus: "You cannot abolish war from a competitive system of civilization; competition is the root-basis of such a system of civilization, and competition is war. When a business firm crushes a trade-rival from

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[1] Quoted in "The Great Illusion," p. 20.
[2] Quoted in "Arms and Industry," pp. 38, 39.
[3] David Jayne Hill, quoted in "Arms and Industry," p. 38.

the markets by cut-prices there is exactly the same process at work as when a business-nation crushes a trade-rival by physical force. The means vary, but the end in view and the ethical principles in question are identical. In both cases the weaker goes to the wall; in both cases it is woe to the vanquished."[1] The same author says: "The teaching of all history is that commerce grows under the shadow of armed strength. Every war which we have waged from the days of Cromwell to the present has been to protect British commerce."[2]

The claim that history proves that the commercial prosperity depends upon strength of arms, would be relevant only if the arguments adduced gave full weight to the revolutionary change in economic conditions which has taken place within the past century. Science and invention have produced a mutual interdependence that is daily becoming more complex. A banking system adapted to the new conditions has been evolved which provides the sensory nerves of internationalism, so that today a disturbance of economic conditions in the remotest part of the world is immediately felt everywhere else. It would, therefore, be a digression to discuss any but the most recent historical facts bearing upon the relation of war to commerce.

The world has long recognized the fact that moral and intellectual ideas are in no sense limited by political boundaries. The discoveries of science become almost immediately the common property of all men, and no nation deems it to its interest to keep secret from other nations the achievements of her scholars. In the moral realm civilized nations tolerate no political barriers to

[1] Rifleman, "The Struggle for Bread," p. 209.
[2] Rifleman, "The Struggle for Bread," p. 145.

the propagation of ethical and spiritual ideals. In like manner, though not so promptly, have men gradually come to realize that the boundary lines of commercial and industrial prosperity also fail to coincide with the great political divisions of the world.

The basic fact which has brought about this interdependence of humanity is division of labor. Organized society would be impossible without it. While at one time communities were quite independent of each other, they have gradually found it more advantageous to divide their labor and thus exchange with one another the necessities of life. And so no nation in the present day is entirely self-contained, and to the degree that it is dependent upon others, to that degree does it find it unprofitable to injure its neighbors.

An American manufacturer may lose his trade by the competition of another American as quickly as by that of a German or British manufacturer. The business of the world is so completely international that no single nation can secure complete control over any line of business through mere political influence. The capture of trade is just as possible without political influence as with it. As Professor Saunders, of Cornell University, puts it, "There is no power in national governments sufficiently great to hold in check the modern tendency toward an order of universal economics."[1]

If strength of arms were the secret of economic prosperity, the best armed nations should be the most prosperous, and those weakest in armament should be the least successful in trade. But a study of statistics will show that the citizens of the small and comparatively unpro-

[1] See "International Conciliation" for April 1914, article on Commerce and War, p. 3.

tected nations of Europe had, up to the recent war, a greater *per capita* wealth than those of Germany and Russia.[1] Investors, too, have shown a decided preference for securities in the countries with proportionately small armaments.[2]

The facts of modern commercial life, therefore, reveal the growing interdependence of mankind. No nation is sufficient unto itself. War against a neighboring nation is more than fratricidal; it is also, in part at least, a suicidal act. The spirit of war is fundamentally opposed to the trend of economic history.

IX

INTERNATIONAL TRADE NOT ORGANIZED IN NATIONAL UNITS

The complexity of the world's economic relationships and their utter disregard of political boundaries is graphically illustrated by Mr. Angell as follows: "A Birmingham ironmaster sells his engines to a Brazilian coffee-planter, who is able to buy them because he sells his coffee to a merchant in Havre, who sells it to a Westphalian town manufacturing rails for Siberia, which buys them because peasants are growing wheat as the result of a demand in Lancashire, which is manufacturing cotton for Indian coolies growing tea for sheep-farmers in Australia, who are able to buy it because they sell wool to a Bradford merchant, who manufactures it because he is able to sell cloth to a petroleum-refiner

[1] Cf. Mulhall, "Industries and Wealth of Nations," p. 391.
[2] Cf. Norman Angell, "The Great Illusion," pp. 36-38.

in Baku, who is able to buy clothing because he is selling petrol to the users of automobiles in Paris. How can such an operation, which is typical of most international trade, be described as the competition of rival units—such as Great Britain, Germany, France, Brazil, or Russia?" [1]

X

THE GROWING DESIRE FOR ARBITRATION

Not alone in the more limited social relationships of life is the progressive subsidence of physical conflict an evident fact, but even in international relationships we can scarcely fail to discover, in spite of the recent recrudescence of war, many undeniable signs of advance in the same direction. Chief among these signs are those which illustrate in one way or another the rapidly growing sentiment in favor of arbitration. Many international disputes have already been satisfactorily settled by arbitration. During the nineteenth century two hundred and twelve arbitral awards were made and not a single decision was repudiated by either side in the dispute. While it is doubtless true that many of these disputes, had they remained unsettled, would scarcely have led to war, yet some had already brought the countries involved to the very verge of war. Arbitration between Great Britain and the United States has at least twice in the past fifty years prevented war; in the case of the Alabama claims, settled in 1872, and the Venezuela intervention, settled in 1896, the passion for war in both countries was strong.

[1] Norman Angell, "Arms and Industry," pp. 23, 24.

Yet reason and conscience triumphed and both peace and friendliness have prevailed.

A striking illustration of the changing sentiment in regard to arbitration is shown in the attitude of Lord Salisbury at two different periods in his career. In speaking of the Alabama arbitration, on March 3, 1873, he said: "I am afraid that, like competitive examinations and sewage irrigation, arbitration is one of the famous nostrums of the age. Like them it will have its day and will pass away, and future ages will look with pity and contempt on those who could have believed in such an expedient for bridling the ferocity of human passions." Less than twenty years later the same leader in another speech during the summer of 1892 said: "After all, the great triumph of civilization in the past has been in the substitution of judicial termination for the cold, cruel, crude arbitrament of war. We have got rid of private war between small magnate and small magnate. In this country we have got rid of the duel between man and man. We are slowly, as far as we can, substituting arbitrament for struggles in international disputes." [1]

Professor Hull tells us that the history of arbitration begins, practically, with the arbitration clauses in the Jay treaty of 1794 between the United States and Great Britain, in accordance with which the northeast boundary line of the United States was submitted to arbitration in 1796. During the century and a quarter which followed, there have been settled by arbitration eight different boundary disputes between the United States and Canada, and all without a single fort at any point along the nearly four thousand miles of frontier which divides the two nations. Eleven other disputes between the United

[1] Quoted in "The New Peace Movement," p. 151.

States and Canada have also been referred to arbitral settlement, and brought to a successful conclusion, among which have been several questions of grave importance, affecting the honor and vital interests of both parties. The settlement by the Hague Court of the North Atlantic Coast Fisheries case in 1910 is a shining illustration of the ease with which judicial procedure was able to put a quietus upon a controversy which had vexed the channels of diplomacy for nearly three-quarters of a century.[1]

More striking, even, than the successful submission of many specific international disputes to arbitral judgment is the fact that already over three hundred arbitration treaties have been signed between the various nations. While a number of them only apply to certain specified kinds of difficulty, there are many others which cover all disputes not affecting matters of vital interests or national honor, and a few which make no exceptions. Chile and Argentine were the first nations to adopt an unlimited arbitration treaty, which was signed in 1903 and fittingly commemorated by the erection high up in the Andes of a colossal statue of Christ, cast from old cannon. The inscription on its base with clear faith declares: "Sooner shall these mountains crumble into dust than Argentine and Chile break the peace to which they have pledged themselves at the feet of Christ the Redeemer."[2]

XI

WAR AND THE SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST

The biological argument in favor of war is based on the law of natural selection. Although its advocates con-

[1] Cf. W. I. Hull, "The New Peace Movement," p. 153.
[2] Cf. "Christ and War," pp. 164, 165.

cede, of course, that other factors than war are at work to ensure the survival of the fittest, yet they say that modern life has tended to lessen the effective operation of some of these very factors. Take disease, for example: time was when it invariably slew the weakest; this made for the survival, as in the case of China, of the strongest and most immune. But the discoveries of modern medicine have made possible the survival and perpetuation of the weak in percentages never known before. The race, therefore, it is claimed, needs a drastic method, which will purge it of all that is unfit to survive, and this method is found in war.

But what does history show as to the part which war has played in promoting the survival of the fittest? Primitive man was, of course, confronted, as were all the animals with which he contended, by the problem of securing his living without losing his life. His intended victim might become his own sepulcher. This placed him in active antagonism with all creatures, brute or human, who sought his life or whose capture might be to him a means of subsistence. It was a struggle for existence, in which the determining factor was force. Survival was based on the power to wage effective combat, and life was the stake.

Because of his comparative unfitness for fighting, however, man was early compelled to resort to other than purely physical means for attaining his ends. Without claws, and with teeth unsuited for battle, he was a feeble contestant in the presence of many of his antagonists. So he discovered the use of weapons, crude at first, but gradually shaped into effective forms for cutting and thrusting. By his strength and skill in wielding these weapons, and by acting in concert with his fellows, he

often overcame his most formidable foes, as is shown by the bones which have been found in the caves where he dwelt. And so began the process in man's development by which he gradually came to learn the value of co-operation.

That the laws of evolution, far from requiring a constant appeal to force between man and man, emphatically demand the progressive subordination of such appeal to higher influences, was affirmed by Herbert Spencer himself, who declared that "in social groups formed by compounding and recompounding primitive hordes, conduct remains imperfectly evolved in proportion as there continue antagonisms between the groups and antagonisms between members of the same group. . . . Hence the limit of evolution can be reached by conduct only in permanently peaceful societies. That perfect adjustment of acts to ends in maintaining life, which is effected by each without hindering others from effecting like perfect adjustments, is, in its very definition, shown to constitute a kind of conduct that can be approached only as War decreases and dies out." The same scientist made the sweeping assertion that "advance to the highest forms of man and society depends on the decline of militancy."[1]

Among later scientists no less influential a man than Sir E. Ray Lankester of Great Britain has voiced the same opinion: "Neither the more ancient wars of mankind for conquest and migration, nor the present and future wars for commercial privilege, have any real equivalence to the simple removal by death of the unfit, and the survival and reproduction of the fit, which we

[1] Quoted in W. L. Grane's "The Passing of War," p. 43.

know as Natural Selection. . . . Knowledge, reason, self-consciousness, will, are the attributes of Man. They justify the view that Man forms a new departure in the gradual unfolding of Nature's predestined scheme. The volition of Man has become a power in Nature which has profoundly modified not only man's own history but that of the face of the planet on which he exists. . . . At every step of his progress man has receded further and further from the ancient rule exercised by Nature."[1]

From the practical point of view it is plain that war could, at the best, only tend to propagate a race fitted for war. In ancient times when warfare was largely a matter of individual contests, the struggle of armies doubtless resulted in a survival of many of the best fighters. But modern methods have changed all this. Except in guerilla warfare the quality of the individual has become a less prominent factor. The weak can kill the strong, and machine guns mow down whole ranks impartially. There is little opportunity in modern warfare for the operation of the law of natural selection, except in the process of enlistment.

Such selection is artificial, not natural, and accomplishes in the end the very opposite result from the one which the law of Natural Selection should produce. It "occurs chiefly before the fighting even begins, and results in the temporary or permanent removal from the general population of a special part of it, and the deliberate exposure of this part to disease and death."[2] And those thus exposed are not only physically the fittest, but are also usually above the average of their fel-

[1] E. R. Lankester, "The Kingdom of Man," p. 27.
[2] Vernon L. Kellogg in *The Atlantic Monthly* for July, 1913, article on "Eugenics and Militarism."

lows in other qualities. The greater the issues at stake, the more does war prove attractive to men of character and worth. For the elimination of such, rather than for their survival, the law of war forever works. War thus promotes the survival not of the strong, but of the weak, not of the fit, but of the unfit.

XII

WAR AND NATIONAL SOLIDARITY

War is often defended on the ground that it is a necessary means for inducing and promoting national solidarity. Many examples are quoted in proof of this contention. In conquering all the nations lying about the Mediterranean Sea, Rome successfully welded a heterogeneous mass of people into a united and powerful empire. Great Britain's solidarity was won through her world-wide conquests. The American colonies were fused into a united nation by their war for independence, and Bismarck at the head of an army representing forty millions of people belonging to many separate and more or less unfriendly states, bound them together with bands of steel by hurling their united battalions against a nation whose ambitions he conceived to be inimical to the growth of Empire. And so throughout the list, one can find scarcely a war of which it has not been said that it has stimulated national vitality and unity, and the conclusion is that war is an indispensable means to this desirable end.

It may be conceded at the outset that national solidarity has often followed in the wake of war. But does this

prove that war is the best means for promoting unity, or that war is really the cause of the unity which accompanies it?

As the case of Germany is cited perhaps more frequently than that of any other in this connection, we may properly attempt an analysis of the situation at the time of the Franco-Prussian war. What, for instance, were the conditions which prevented the smaller German states from coalescing more completely before the struggle with Louis Napoleon began? The Zollverein, or Commercial League, organized in 1834 and renewed in 1841, had already done much to cultivate a spirit of unity among the German states. But it was the foolish desire of the petty German potentates to retain the right to make war on each other which prevented them from achieving the very union which the Zollverein would otherwise have brought to a high degree of strength.[1] No doubt, as Canon Grane has pointed out, "the forcing heat of the crisis brought about by Bismarck caused the tree of German Unity to burst into flower. But it might have blossomed ages before, but for the retarding effect of the militaristic spirit in the separate states."[2]

Great Britain was able to begin the process of unification at a much earlier date than Germany, because she earlier saw the wisdom of eliminating military rivalry among her component units. So that today she maintains her solidarity, not because she has fought or intends to fight, but because she has deliberately chosen to eliminate the appeal to arms as between one part of her Empire and another.

The more the trend of history is scrutinized the more

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[1] Cf. Percy Ashley, "Modern Tariff History," pp. 14-18.
[2] W. L. Grane, "The Passing of War," p. 249.

is one forced to the conviction that the inevitable tendency "of war preparations, and the war-spirit, is to disintegrate, not to unite. Nothing has tended so much as war to retard the development of those great national confederations which are the wonder of the modern world." [1] Far from being a promoter of union and federation, war is their greatest hindrance. If national solidarity must be achieved by arms, by arms must it be maintained. There is strength in union, but union will always prove unstable when it is based on physical strength.

XIII

WAR AND NATIONAL EXISTENCE

There are those who believe that no nation can be sure of a continued existence unless it is heavily armed. This theory seems to us to involve such assumptions as the four enumerated below:

(1) That each nation is so sovereign and independent a unit as to have no responsibility for the welfare of any other similar unit; this assumption disregards the unity of all men as children of a common Father God, and the increasingly recognized principle of the family of nations.

(2) That every nation will, and inevitably must, act from motives of self-interest only; this assumes that the ethical standards which obtain in individual and communal life are not applicable in the larger world-relationships.

(3) That for its own sustenance, and therefore for its

[1] W. L. Grane, "The Passing of War," p. 250.

very existence, each nation is forced to compete with every other nation; this does not take into account the fact that in modern life the industrial and economic boundaries, far from coinciding with those which are political, cross and re-cross them at every conceivable angle, so that the opportunity for an individual to make a livelihood is controlled by forces other than those dependent upon the mere existence or influence of his own particular government.

(4) That each nation is solely dependent upon its own physical strength for the protection of its rights and interests; this fails to admit the possibility of an effective use in international relationships of such legal and judicial agencies as have already proved successful in lifting justice and truth to a place of determining influence in many of the more limited relationships of life.

XIV

CHINA AND THE CAREER OF "IGNOBLE EASE"

Ex-President Roosevelt has appealed to his fellow-countrymen to take warning from China and not be "content to rot by inches in ignoble ease within our borders," and to be assured that, unless we heed the warning, some day "suddenly we should find, beyond the shadow of a question, what China has already found, that in this world the nation that has trained itself to a career of unwarlike and isolated ease, is bound, in the end, to go down before the other nations which have not lost the manly and adventurous qualities." [1] Our ex-President has surely failed

[1] Theodore Roosevelt, "The Strenuous Life," p. 6.

to read the history of China aright. True it is that China's progress has been hindered by her isolation, but we may well doubt whether war was the only way to have broken it up, and also whether it was in any sense a wise method.

What is meant by the words "to go down"? Where now are the Empires of Babylon and Assyria, of Greece and Rome, which, coeval with China, were founded and maintained by force? With all the handicap placed upon the Middle Kingdom by her seclusion, what warlike nation of the West can boast an ancient literature as voluminous and as pure as that of peaceful China? What long-lived nation reared by the "gory nurse that trained societies to cohesiveness" can show the fundamental democracy of spirit and unity of culture which the Chinese people possess? What other nation, ancient or modern, trained by war to "the manly and adventurous qualities" has ever achieved a victory in social morality equivalent in magnitude or difficulty, or in the brevity of time in which it was achieved, to the abolition of the use of opium? If only China can be protected from militarism and the war-spirit, she will yet demonstrate to the world the virility of a race which finds its discipline, not in war, but in peaceful service, and will fulfil the promise that the meek shall inherit the earth.

XV

WHY DID JESUS ORDER HIS DISCIPLES TO BUY SWORDS?

Luke's account of the instructions which Jesus gave to His disciples to sell their cloaks and buy swords is

variously interpreted.[1] The author of "Christ and War" says: "It is probable that we no longer possess the means of understanding this saying, but that it implies that Jesus intended His followers then or later to resort to arms seems unlikely, because:

(1) It is quite clear from the Gospels that Jesus knew He was going to His death, and did not attempt to evade it.
(2) Jesus also appears to have said that two swords were enough (v. 38): this they certainly were not if intended for the defense of twelve men.
(3) When one disciple used his sword, Jesus sternly rebuked him (Matt. xxvi. 51, 52).
(4) There is no trace in any account we have of the early Church that its members defended themselves against persecutors.

"That the early Church was perplexed by this verse may be seen by the passages in which the Fathers explain away its evident discordance with the faith and practice of the Church. . . . Generally it must be said of all these passages that they can only be understood in the light of the total impression of all that Jesus Christ said and was."[2]

Mr. Dodge's interpretation of the same passage is very suggestive: "All the conduct of our Lord has meaning to it, and much of it was with an express view to teach His disciples by way of example. A little before He was betrayed, He ordered His disciples to take swords. The object of this must have been either to use them for de-

[1] Luke xxii. 35-38.
[2] W. E. Wilson, "Christ and War," pp. 17, 18.

fense, or for some other purpose. The event proves that they were not taken for self-defense. The question then is, For what were they taken? The event appears fully to answer the question, viz.: To prohibit, by way of example, the use of them for self-defense in the most trying situation possible. If any situation would justify self-defense with carnal weapons, it must have been the situation in which our Lord and His disciples were placed at the time He was betrayed. They were in a public garden, and they were assaulted by a mob, contrary to the statutes of the Romans and the laws of the Jews; and the object was to take His life. This the disciples knew, and Peter judged it a proper time for defense, and drew his sword and smote a servant of the High Priest and cut off his ear. As our Lord's Kingdom was not of this world, He would not suffer His subjects to use the weapons of this world in any situation. He therefore healed the wound they made and rebuked Peter for his mistaken zeal. 'Then said Jesus unto him, Put up again thy sword into his place; for all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword. Thinkest thou that I cannot pray to my Father, and he would presently send me more than twelve legions of angels?' Here we see that our Lord not only forbade His disciples to use the sword in self-defense, but added a dreadful penalty to transgressors,—'all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword.' The disciples did not then fully understand that His Kingdom was not of this world. As soon as they were prohibited using the weapons of this world they all forsook Him and fled."[1]

[1] David Low Dodge, "War Inconsistent with the Religion of Jesus Christ," pp. 144-146.

XVI

THE CALL OF THE PRESENT CRISIS

Eight years ago Professor Bosworth, of Oberlin, wrote the following significant and almost prophetic words: "In this process of enlarging conception it has become increasingly clear that this which at first was called the Kingdom of God is a developing civilization of brotherly sons of God in which two things will occur: first, every personality will have opportunity for the development of its latent powers, opportunity to become what God means it to be; and second, all the forces latent in the natural environment of these personalities will be brought out of earth or air and placed by human effort increasingly at the service of men. In this civilization of friendly workmen, living in the presence of the God who is their Father, the long unfailing aspiration of Jesus for humanity shall be realized.

"In this process by which the Spirit of Jesus makes men understand more and more clearly what is involved in His revelation of God and God's will for the life of men, crises occur. It is a process with crises. Perhaps there will finally be some great crisis comparable with that in which the revelation of God was made by Jesus Christ in terms of human life and death and resurrection, human struggle and victory, two thousand years ago. However that may be, lesser crises in the process certainly occur when men make swift advance in their understanding of God and of His will for the life of the world.

"The present is such a crisis. The crisis is due to the fact that sociological conditions have suddenly brought

men of widely different classes into unusually close relation to each other. The world has never before, in so short a time, experienced changes comparable with those that have occurred in the last few decades. Men have been forced into such close contact that the welfare of each is dependent upon the conduct of others to a degree hitherto unknown. Men have been forced together geographically. A man, without rising from his office chair, may, in a few moments, through telephone, telegraph, and cable, interchange thought with a man on the other side of the earth. It is as if he could almost hear his voice and feel his hand. Men are being drawn together industrially. The miner comes up the shaft with his grimy face and looks the coal baron straight in the eye. The two men are brought close together and must talk it out face to face. Men are being brought together socially. Within the lifetime of men still in active business Chicago was a small village and in the village was a small tradesman. The village became a metropolis, the small tradesman became a merchant prince, and his daughter became the wife of the Viceroy of India—all within the limits of a single lifetime. Irresistible forces which no man can control have been steadily bringing men closer together and making the welfare of each dependent upon the behavior of the other, as never before.

"The result of crowding men so close together may be that they will fall upon each other in deadly hatred or that they will be bound together with ties of mutual respect and brotherly good will. If they come together only to hate each other, they will fall apart, and civilization will retrograde to a point from which it cannot come again to the present point for some centuries. What the outcome of the present crisis shall be depends upon one

thing, namely, the character of the men concerned in the crisis. Can Jesus Christ have the kind of men He wants to thrust down into the thick of life? Can He find His type of man in sufficient abundance to bring the present crisis to a successful issue? If so, they will be what He called them of old, 'the salt of the earth'—that which preserves civilization from decay and disintegration.

"The present crisis, then, constitutes a call for character. The old words ring out with new meaning: 'Repent; for the kingdom of God is at hand'; change your lives, for God's new order comes swiftly on." [1]

[1] Edward Increase Bosworth, "A Call for Character," pp. 8-11.

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